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JULY, 1903

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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# THE ARENA

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PHILADELPHIA—A STUDY IN POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

THE true root, the festering sore spot of Pennsylvania political corruption is the city of Philadelphia. It is here that fraudulent voting flourishes, a rank weed that is never cut down by the sharp sword of Justice. It is here that the political gang that rules the State with a rod of iron finds the votes necessary to its purpose. It is conservatively estimated that there are sufficient fraudulent votes cast in the city at each election, with the negro votes, which are almost a solid unit for the so-called Republican party, to give an overwhelming majority to the bosses against which the feeble Philadelphia reform party is powerless.

A scientific study of the political habits, customs and character of the citizens of this ill-starred city will well repay us by exhibiting many interesting phenomena. For this is the city whose inhabitants for a generation, and with many submissive protests, have drunk typhoid fever from its polluted Schuylkill River, who recently, and with the like submissive protests, allowed their mayor to publicly fling away unopened an offer of \$2,500,000 for street railway franchises that the next day he gave away to the members of the political ring that rule the State and city. For this gift of the city the Rapid Transit Company paid \$2,000,000, so the newspapers report a director of the

latter to have said, thus, between the city's gift and the company's purchase, \$2,000,000 disappeared, how and why may be easily guessed.

Such a study as we propose of the character of a community—always a difficult and delicate task—necessitates an investigation of details which escape the larger and broader views of general history and compels a descent to those apparently trifling incidents that have fallen into forgetfulness with the daily paper, which was often their only chronicle.

At the outset it should be said that the average morality, the general goodness and virtue of the individual citizen of Philadelphia is, if anything, higher than in other cities of its size. This may seem irreconcilable with the patient toleration in its officials of a tone, both intellectual and moral, very much below that of the rest of the country. Fancy, for example, a recent newspaper dispute by the mayor over the question whether he did or did not deliver a certain lewd speech to a body of young men whom he had been asked to address, the newspaper, one of the most reputable in the city, insisting upon the fact, notwithstanding his denials; or, for another example, equally recent, imagine the head of the police department under the same mayor, and, so far as appears, with his approval, and, indeed, under his directions, going to the most prominent merchant of the city and threatening that if a certain newspaper (alleged to be controlled by the merchant) did not cease its attacks on the administration of the mayor, the head of the department would make public the private life of the merchant ascertained by his detectives. Fortunately the courage and wisdom of the merchant were equal to the emergency. He had all the particulars of the interview taken down by his stenographer and published in full in the next day's papers. Public indignation ran so high that a huge mass meeting was held under the auspices of the best citizens and beautifully worded resolutions were passed requesting the mayor to remove the head of the police department. And there the whole matter ended; there was not enough virility in the community, not enough force of character, to give effect to its opinion,

Or another example: For some years the merchants of the heart of the city have had little blue and pink slips pasted on their fire insurance policies. One of these exacts "Extra premium for conflagration hazard due to inefficient building laws;" the other, "Extra premium for inadequate water supply." These little papers have cost the merchants of the city a pretty penny, and much indignation has been expressed—to the incompetent city officials you may in your simplicity conjecture. Not at all; to the district attorney, to whom complaint was made that the increased rates were the result of a *conspiracy of the underwriters*. This sounds like the doings in "Alice in Wonderland" or "Behind the Looking Glass." The ordinary business man who found himself charged with extra premiums, because of insufficient building laws and so on, would naturally, one would think, apply himself to the remedying of the laws. Not so, however, these "wise men" of Philadelphia. Like the old woman in Mother Goose whose pig wouldn't go to market, and who blamed the stick, the dog, the water, everything but the pig, they, with like prescience, detected the real cause of their troubles to be the unlucky insurance companies, whom they proceeded to attack for their obedience to the economic law which prescribes extra premiums for extra risks. They gave the usual majority at the next election for the Republican machine, which was really responsible for their miserably incompetent city government, and thus for their pecuniary sufferings.

It is fair to state, however, that some years previous an attempt was made to have city councils enact proper building restrictions which would prevent the erection of the great fire traps that now adorn the city, but the councils refused. In like manner an effort was made to get a new and better water supply, which has resulted in a new pipe being laid in part of the city which for the present depends for its water upon tug-boats in the Delaware River. So there is a filtering plant being put in to purify the polluted Schuylkill, notwithstanding that there raged during the past winter a typhoid fever epidemic, not less, but rather greater than usual,

But if these examples seem trivial let us take up some of the larger transactions of the citizens, beginning, say, a generation back, and observe what they have to reveal of character. In the year 1870 the State legislature created what was commonly known as the Public Building Commission, the purpose of which was to build for the city a new city hall. The act named a number of men, chiefly politicians, who were given the most absolute powers. They had the right to fill vacancies in their own body, to make contracts for the new building, and to compel the city to give them as much money each year as they chose to ask. After eight years of this tyranny the citizens, in 1877, by their councils, refused to pay the yearly tribute exacted for that year, but the Supreme Court (*Perkins vs. Slack*, 86 Pa. State Reports, 270) held that they had no alternative but to do exactly what this arbitrarily named commission commanded. In 1893, sixteen years having apparently been spent in thinking over the situation (Philadelphia is proverbially slow), another mild attempt was made to get rid of this "Old Man of the Sea" that had for so long hung about their necks. An act was passed in that year abolishing the Public Building Commission, but this was held unconstitutional, for various technical reasons, and the Commission was allowed thereafter to pursue its way undisturbed until 1901, when the act creating it was again repealed. By that year, however, the Commission had become virtually *functus officio* through the practical completion of the unsightly structure with which it has disfigured and blockaded the center of the city.

Coming down to a little later date there was an old institution, the Trustees of the Philadelphia Gas Works, which had managed or mismanaged the gas works of the city for many years. Politicians constituted the bulk of its trustees, and about the year 1880 the charges of fraud became so persistent that the city councils resolved to investigate. The chairman of the investigating committee was apparently selected, with a sort of proleptical sense of fitness, on the principle of setting a thief to catch an alleged thief or thieves, for he was subsequently sent to jail for embezzling city money; one of the few men in

many years who was actually convicted and punished for official misconduct in Philadelphia.

It was found and so reported by the committee that the most frightful mismanagement existed, to give it no worse name. Coal was bought above the market price, men were employed who were not needed, supplies were bought from political favorites, the valuable by-products, coal tar, etc., were sold at half the regular market price to certain favored persons. On the recommendation of the committee an equity suit was brought in May, 1881, against the trustees. The case dragged its slow length along for years; it was not until 1882 that the trustees could be compelled to even answer the bill of complaint, for every delay known to ingenious counsel was employed by them to obstruct the progress of the case. Certainly it is not an overstatement of the matter to say that for faithful and honest trustees the conduct of the defendants was extraordinary, and not of the kind to inspire any great confidence in their innocence. After seven and a half years of legal labor, with attachments for witnesses, reports to the court, and every kind of interlocutory proceedings, all the testimony was at last taken, a master was appointed, and the cause was ripe for hearing according to the Pennsylvania equity practice. Then, like a stroke of lightning, without apology or explanation, in December, 1888, the whole case was given up and abandoned by the city. It may have been that the counsel for the city considered its case hopeless, but it is hard to suppose that there was no possible chance of winning, and if so, that the discovery was only made at the last moment after all the expense and labor had been undergone. Indeed, it is hard to understand why the defendants themselves, if they had been faithful trustees, did not insist on a final judgment that would vindicate their reputations, soiled by the imputations of the suit. Whatever the reason, and whatever the moral effect of it upon plaintiff and defendants, the fact remains that the labor of eight years or more was deliberately thrown away, and without a struggle the city gave up the contest.

And now we take up the tale a few years later. There was

a bank in the city in which it was the habit of the State treasurer to deposit large sums of the public money entrusted to him, sums much greater than the amounts deposited with other banks of more capital and better credit. It was a politicians' bank, and it may have been a mere coincidence that some of them were large borrowers from it for the purpose of stock-gambling—"Shaking the plum tree" was the picturesque phrase used by one of them, for the process. This bank, with a finer sense of the befitting than one might have credited to these rough, practical men, was appropriately called the "People's Bank," in delicate allusion possibly to the source of its wealth.

In the year 1898 the cashier of this bank committed suicide and the bank closed its doors, having been completely gutted. Two of its heaviest borrowers, both politicians of wide reputation, and the State treasurer of that year were indicted for conspiracy to convert to their own use the public money of the State of Pennsylvania, deposited in the bank. The most extraordinary measures were resorted to by these "eminent statesmen" to save themselves, and their case in its preliminary stage before trial was carried to the Supreme Court (Quay's Petition, 189 Pa. State Reports, 517) and the evidence was stated in detail by the prosecuting officer of the Commonwealth, the district attorney, in part as follows:

"The prosecution does not depend upon verbal testimony, but upon the written evidence created by the conspirators themselves in the pursuit of the object of their conspiracy. This evidence shows that the public funds of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for years have been used by the conspirators for their private and unlawful gain. Interest has been allowed by the People's Bank on the deposits of public money and paid to the accused, in some cases placed to the individual deposit of the accused in their bank account, and checked out by them along with their own moneys in the same account. In other instances cashier's checks and drafts have been made payable to the accused for certain sums of interest on the public money, and these documents, bearing the indorsement of the accused, showing the receipt by them of the interest money paid, are in existence and in the possession of the Commonwealth. The

books show that hundreds of thousands of dollars of the public money deposited in the People's Bank were set apart for the use of M. S. Quay and used by him, and that he was charged no interest thereon. The books show that hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of stocks were bought for the said M. S. Quay with this money; that whenever he failed to use his full allowance of public money thus set apart for him, interest was carefully calculated upon the balance not used by him in the purchase of stocks, and paid to the State treasurer. The district attorney could not have failed or refused to proceed upon this evidence and to bring the accused into court to confess or explain this testimony."

The Supreme Court refused to interfere and the case was tried and the defendants were all acquitted.

It was one of these defendants that the present Governor of Pennsylvania in his now famous essay on Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, lauded as the superior in statesmanship of Clay and Webster.

In this same year, 1898, a scandal broke out in the city councils. There was a scheme to lease the water works of this much suffering community to a company called the Schuylkill Valley Water Company. Who or what this company was nobody ever knew definitely, but a charge was openly made by one councilman, with all the particularity possible of names, place, and amounts, of an attempt to bribe him to favor the ordinance which was to deliver what was practically the only water supply of the city into the hands of this unknown company. Indictments were found against a number of persons; bail was exacted from one of \$100,000, so grave were the charges and so compromising the evidence. The Supreme Court was again appealed to and passed upon the validity of the proceedings in the court below, but that was all, not a single man indicted was convicted, but the honest but unfortunate councilman who made the charges was attacked in his business, was assailed in his reputation, and was, be very sure, not reelected to councils; he was not a desirable member.

Still more recently, in the early part of 1902, a gang of alleged ballot box stuffers—the evil from which, above all others,

the city suffers—was put on trial; one of them had a few years back pleaded guilty and was sent to jail, the others fled the jurisdiction, and afterwards returned and were put on trial and acquitted. The ballot boxes that were opened by the court in the trial showed plainly that fraud had been committed, but nobody was punished except the ill-advised criminal who pled guilty.

It may be, of course, that all these ineffectual efforts to rectify the evils of bad government, to bring to justice alleged wrong doers, failed for perfectly legitimate reasons. It is possible that it is a mere accident that it always happens thus in Philadelphia and that nobody is punished, while the existence of punishable offenses in great number is conceded. Unfortunately a much more sinister explanation is suggested to the intelligent student when he is told of a recent action of the district attorney in a similar class of cases. In December, 1902, that official was about to try another batch of alleged political criminals, the members of a school board indicted for bribery in the appointment of teachers. On the day of the trial he suddenly refused to try the defendants before the jury drawn for that particular court and transferred the case to another court just across the corridor of the same building and before a different panel of jurors. The vigorous protests of the defendants' counsel exhibited clearly how much importance, in their judgment, attached to the change thus effected in the jury panel.

Supposing the reader and myself consulting physicians called in to make a diagnosis of these symptoms of Philadelphia character; what should be our conclusion? Is it too sweeping a generalization to say that the main disease is twofold? First, there is what may be called, for want of a better name, a sort of moral *locomotor ataxia*, an inability to put into action the community's really high sense of right and wrong conduct. The citizens lack the virtue militant, that individually disagreeable, but socially valuable quality—pugnacity—the quality that leads an Englishman to spend £20 to avoid the illegal exaction of a shilling. They are law abiding, conservative to the point of allowing a rogue to rob them, if he only preserves the ap-

pearances and technicalities of legality. They lack political aggressiveness. That they do not lack an appreciation of the rottenness of their political life and a desire for better conditions may be seen in the innumerable societies they possess, looking to that end: Municipal Leagues, Voters' Alliances, Ballot Reform Associations, Civic Clubs. It is impossible to enumerate all the contrivances and machinery that keep actively working year after year, yet accomplish nothing of real value; that are continually marching but "never arrive." One bold, confident, self-reliant, unselfish man, like Folk in St. Louis, Jerome in New York, or Clarke in Minneapolis, would be worth the whole collection of this elegant and useless bric-a-brac of reform. In one brief sentence: they do not punish political criminals in Philadelphia. What is the use of detecting frauds on the ballot if you never punish the criminals that are guilty of them! What is the use of your reform machinery, with all its fine language and doctrinaire maxims, if it simply, when the time to act comes, does what the Republican bosses desire; aye, even anticipates their commands, as in the late nomination for mayor, when the Municipal League actually endorsed the candidate of the bosses before he was nominated by their masters? How can the breath of political life be put into the nostrils of such a people? They are very good, denounce wrong and uphold virtue in language truly affecting; but it is all vague and general; concrete wrong, particular and definite wrongdoing they carefully steer clear of. They remind the observer of Lowell's clever definition: *Abstract wrong—Easy to oppose*. They did not dare bring suit against their mayor for negligence in throwing away an offer of \$2,500,000: it might subject them to a non-suit. They gave up their feeble attempt to abolish the Building Commission after the first abortive effort. They spent years in suing the Gas Trust and then when all was ripe for the final issue, they gave it up. They have no stomach for a "fight to a finish," they prefer to voluntarily accept defeat rather than risk a battle. They have none of that persistent energy under defeat that turns it into final victory. Had they been in charge of the American Revolution, they would have

gotten no further than the mass meetings, and beautifully worded resolutions of which they are so fond. After passing these last they would have considered the Revolution settled and would have pronounced the throwing over of the tea in Boston Harbor highly illegal and not to be thought of by law-abiding citizens. And so they would disapprove the high-handed proceedings of the splendid foreman of the Minneapolis grand jury, Hovey C. Clarke, who recently put aside the prosecuting officer of the State and by his hard, relentless energy, single-handed, exiled the mayor and drove out the thieving city government.

Perhaps the most enlightening explanation of Philadelphia character, with its patent contradiction of a high private and a low public morality, may be got from some acute remarks of Walter Bagehot, explaining the principle which distinguishes progressive from non-progressive societies. He points out that the deciding element is whether that conservative sense, the reverence for and obedience to established custom and law, which he names as the principal and necessary characteristic to the beginning of all societies, is strong enough to repress all variability, all tendency to change. If society be so congealed by the "cake of custom" to use his own apt phrase, that it fails to break the crust, make new departures, change the old and bad for the newer and better, progress becomes impossible, as in China and in many unimproving savage tribes.

Now the very essence of much of Philadelphia's high average morality lies in this conservative "cake of custom" spirit, its regard for old families, ancient and long-established traditions and habits, dislike of the new because it is new. This spirit it is that makes the Philadelphian so law-abiding, so admirable in all the lesser duties, but which at the same time hinders the exercise of those higher duties of citizenship that alone make reforms possible. In his reverence for law and for the forms and institutions of his social machinery, he forgets that which alone makes them of any worth; he fears to transgress the letter of the law to enforce its spirit; he fears to destroy in order to build up.

Permit an illustration of this, well deserving, to the scientific mind, of the epithet beautiful. Not many years ago there was a candidate for mayor of the city, young, and too frank to conceal some private peccadillos which need not be specified. For some reason of the party bosses it became desirable at the last minute to discredit his candidacy with the good citizens of Philadelphia. Just before the nomination (which was equivalent to an election) the city was flooded with accounts of this poor young fellow's misdemeanors. Clergymen of every denomination were brought forward to denounce him, and then, by a quick turn of the party managers, his name which had almost been agreed on was withdrawn and another man, not at all better in a political sense and from a truly public point of view, was substituted, the highly conservative moral sense of the community having been utilized to accomplish, without its knowledge, the political objects of its bosses. Their reverence for private virtue was so great and constraining as to utterly destroy their perception of the real point at issue, which was the public capacity and probity of the candidates.

In conjunction with this first peculiarity we may note another which may be distinguished, perhaps, from it, although the two undoubtedly have much interplay and mutual reaction one on the other. We distinguish it from the mere lack of aggressiveness and of disregard for the "cake of custom" by calling it an intellectual rather than a moral defect, although undoubtedly there is an intellectual quality involved in this conservative regard for custom which has so much to do with the Philadelphian's lack of aggressiveness. This second quality is not unknown in other American communities, but nowhere is it so conspicuous as in Philadelphia; it is a species of political stupidity, an intellectual defect, an inability to perceive that it pays the individual citizen to see, not that a Republican or a Democrat is elected, but that honest and competent officials are set to manage the business affairs of his city. The average Philadelphian does not see what a city government, such as he has, costs; he does not see that if the franchises given away in his streets were properly sold to the companies that receive

them his taxes would be almost nothing. And, of course, he never rises to that still wider intellectual sweep of the horizon which would tell him of how tremendous a loss it is for a community to lose its respect for and confidence in its public officials. It is useless to undertake to point out the demoralizing effect upon the whole community of the constant presence of this atmosphere of corruption and incompetence in high places. Such a consideration is beyond a ken that does not comprehend the sources of the losses of material wealth.

Is it any wonder that public office in Pennsylvania instead of being a badge of honor, as it should be in every well regulated community, is rather something to be apologized for and excused? Or is it any surprise that honorable men when they do hold it feel the, to them, undeserved sting of this public contempt and resent it as the recently elected Governor did in his inaugural? "There is no more dangerous public vice than the prevalent affectation of disrespect for those engaged in the performance of the work of the cities, the State and the Nation" were his words. Recognizing the fact, unfortunately he stopped short of prescribing the remedy, which would seem to the plain man to be such conduct on the part of public officials as to deserve and command respect. Here, for example, is a specimen of this "affectation of disrespect" from the minutes of the Philadelphia Chapter of American Architects, of November 8, 1901: "Be it resolved that the program issued (for a competition for designs of the State Capitol) \* \* \* is calculated only to encourage favoritism and injustice, that it obligates the Commission in no way to select the best design or architect, and that, therefore, we advise all architects in Pennsylvania not to enter the competition."

This resolution referred to the commission created by the State legislature and including the Governor as one of its members, which had just formulated a program inviting architects to make designs for the new Capitol at Harrisburg.

So strong was this "affectation of disrespect," as the new Governor happily expresses it, that not only was this formal action taken, but when one of its members did enter the compe-

tition, he was asked to resign, and failing to comply with the request, was finally expelled from the Chapter. A distinguished architect from New York, who was asked to act with the Commission, declined on the ground of the unfairness of the program proposed, and only consented to act as adviser on the express understanding that he was not responsible for the program. All this is part of the history of the case of Hutton *vs.* Philadelphia Chapter of the Institute of American Architects, recently decided by Court of Common Pleas No. 5, of Philadelphia. Here was a plain business man's opinion not merely of the character of the public officials of the State, but of the very character of the State government itself, as embodied in its governmental acts. It was no fanciful, idealistic theorist or political opponent that perpetrated this "affectation of disrespect," but a body of practical men earning their living and soberly, as a measure of business caution, refusing to have any transactions with the State officials.

Could any one add a single line to this graphic picture of the sordid game of loot which makes up political life in Pennsylvania!

It is the fashion in Philadelphia to decry a plain statement of the facts of the situation, however true and colorless of all prejudice as the above recital is intended to be. It is the work of a jaundiced pessimist, is the cry. "Things are not so bad, the bosses are good fellows, and we are fairly comfortable," these respectable highly moral citizens exclaim. What would the evil-doers, the semi-respectable bosses, all the whited sepulchres of decent wrong-doers do without these respectable and timid people who always rush to their defense! It is the same class that they say begged and implored Clarke in Minneapolis to "let up" on his criminals. What such people need is to hear the cry of some fiery prophet like Carlyle thundering in their ears the truth of their mean world, that they must not forget "that ideals do exist; that if they be not approximated to at all the whole matter goes to wreck." Somebody must remind such people that there are ideals, that honorable official conduct and decent living do exist and flourish in all healthy societies, and

that they dare not be ignored but at grave peril to the very life of the society. Loyalty to these is of higher sanction than loyalty to party, to city, to State, or to country. It is disloyalty to these to remain silent in the presence of such transactions as daily take place in Philadelphia—transactions many of which are so scandalous that they are only whispered, and none of which are given here, first, because to give them would be highly libellous, and because like all such deeds of darkness, they are never capable among decent people of the proof which would justify their publication; for it is only among rogues that the exact knowledge of them exists which makes proof possible. But the currency and credence given to the common rumors of them are evidence at least of the opinion generally held in the community of their truth.

Moreover, it may be asked how is the situation ever to be bettered if loyalty to the city and dread of pessimism are to forbid all mention of the subject. Silence is golden, truly, to the rogues that rob and steal and ask of decent people for nothing better than the ignoring of their performances as though they were not. The counsel of silence is the counsel of roguery.

And outside of Philadelphia the cynical observer of her citizens and their affairs may remark: "Well, whose business is it? If Philadelphia and Pennsylvania like this corruption is it not a matter of State rights? Let them have corrupt or incompetent officials, they pay the bills. What difference does it make to the rest of the country?" Unfortunately this is not altogether true. Political history carefully studied shows the profound truth of the Scriptural saying, "No man liveth to himself."

THEOPHILUS BAKER.

*Philadelphia, Pa.*

## AN OVERLOOKED AMERICAN SHELLEY.

"The great world grows in glory; near and far  
God's blinding splendors blaze upon our eyes;  
And thunders, as of newer Sinais,  
Crash triple grandeurs of deep prophecies;  
And large loves, white as Christ's own Angels are,  
Fling shining sweetnesses on all the spheres;  
And calm, vast hymns, high as the morning star,  
Throb throneward from the green isles of the seas.  
Yea, all the days are as a mother's tears—  
Brimful with unsaid meanings."

RICHARD REALF.

MOTHER NATURE probably puts to her growing children no question more pressing and important to their destiny than the discovery of *true genius*, and the adjustment of social duty toward such genius when discovered, for on the intellectual and emotional fertilization by genius of the world's material life must intimately depend the welfare of society and the ultimate welfare of each member of it.

We are here painfully and slowly climbing the "Great Ladder of Jacob" upward to the stars, and each age is vouchsafed its special planetary lights. For, in an evolutionary sense, the progressing earth never retraces a point in its own pathway.

That thousands of mortal motes are born upon this planet—to drift like leaves upon its mystic streams, or to flutter in its celestial radiance like ephemera, without strongly personal wills or self-radiant consciences—seems to be apparent, nor is it to be wondered at, since centuries of antecedent weakness or lack of parental energy suggest a rational cause, and, furthermore, as man has so long oppressed and stifled his fellowman till we see on all sides the warped victims of social and individual selfishness, cruelty, and neglect. But it is probably just as true that an overruling Providence has in all ages leavened

the heavier dough of society with the virile and compelling yeast of genius, sufficient to give to it directive will and divining intuition. Whether through a Confucius or a Buddha, a Jesus or a Joshua, a St. John or a Socrates, a St. Paul or a Plato, the divine afflatus has descended and set afire the waiting stubble upon all planes of material, intellectual, and emotional progress.

An Alexander or Miltiades, Scipio or Hannibal, Napoleon or Washington, Fulton or Edison may bring about this awakening on physical planes; as Aristotle, Galileo, Newton, Bacon, Darwin, or Spencer may on intellectual planes; or Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Moliere, Milton, Mendelssohn, or Wagner on emotional and moral planes. And the resulting influence seems frequently to be independent of the personal limitations or temperamental aberrations of such genius. The scientific fact has long been recognized that the more delicate and high-strung the instrument or organization, the more sensitized and exposed will it be to perturbations in the surrounding atmosphere, and in that very degree will reflect and register more keenly the life throes passing through itself and its environment.

These thoughts on genius have been suggested to me by the work of a remarkably poetic yet surprisingly overlooked genius (now some years dead) whose writings have been lately and imperfectly collected. I refer to the poems and orations of Richard Realf, whose exceptional services to his country and its literature have been misjudged and beclouded by temperamental mistakes of youth. My attention had been brought to this volume, edited by Richard Hinton, somewhat accidentally; and as I was sitting on a California piazza with the librarian of a prominent eastern institution, I asked him if he knew the book. To my surprise he said he did not, and believed few people did. Yet here, as I read, I found a genius of exceptional fascination and splendor.

Richard Realf was born in 1834, near Arundel Castle, England, like Burns and Keats of simple rural parentage. Yet with only his mother, Martha, as teacher, he became a "child of wonder for learning," reading well at a little over three years of age and showing early and marked oratorical power

before little congregations of lads he collected, and a poetic precocity that attracted the attention of Lady Byron, Lady Peel, Mrs. Jameson, Miss Mitford, and Miss Martineau, who all encouraged his muse. He especially attracted the attention and practical sympathy of Mrs. Parnell Stafford, a relative of the great Irish leader, who paid for much of his education.

In his whole career and quality of temperament and inspiration we are reminded strongly of the greater Shelley. They were similarly sensitive, delicate, full of courage, chivalry, gentlemanliness, and high-strung to that same dangerous pitch which, under sudden pressure of added pain, joy, passion, or material or spiritual fascination, could occasionally lose self-control and be easily maligned as "vicious" or "insane" by critics quicker to detect ordinary weaknesses than to accord extraordinary strengths.

It is quite possible that the Byronic impulse in England, or some inherited strain in ancestry, may have led to some indiscretion of youth which brought him early over to New York, where the eminent Dr. Loomis met and took such interest in him as to secure him the position of helper at the Five Points House of Industry. The testimony here, as elsewhere, seems overwhelming as to his natural goodness and generosity of heart. "Singularly tender and affectionate, with warm and ready sympathy for the poor." "Ever ready at the toil of teaching and serving." "Always ready to do his share in every disagreeable job, brimful of fiery energy which seemed never to flag; never showing nervous vexation." "Everybody seemed to love him. He made friends on every hand, and the memories he created kept his presence a glowing radiance."

Such is the testimony of those closest to him in the most trying years of his inspired career, whether at hospitals, lecture halls, social colonies, editorial rooms, camp fires and battlefields, or veteran reunions where his eloquent orations and poems stirred with unexampled power.

His deep sympathy with mankind and his intense love of liberty led him soon to join John Brown in Kansas, and subsequently to fight valiantly through the entire war of emancipa-

tion. Yet with singular self-reliance and probity of judgment, after brave service in the Border War, he would not approve of Brown's reckless assault on Harper's Ferry, but went South to judge slavery optically at close quarters, thus risking his own life to his enemies and his reputation to his friends.

One of his comrades in the Kansas war testifies: "His splendid face (of which one portrait reminds one of Rossetti's) was radiant with a grand enthusiasm. If wagons stuck in mud, or fuel was to be gathered, or sick comrades needed care, he was always first to help. Poetry bubbled from his heart like a perennial spring, and as we lay looking up into the heavens at night he improvised or recalled choice poems of his own or others."

That Realf's military career was one of honor, courage, ability, and personal uprightness cannot be questioned, says the clear testimony of officers and soldiers, some of whom clung to his friendship for life. Serving throughout the war of emancipation and participating in all the grand operations, from Murfreesboro' to Atlanta, he was personally brave to rashness, and won the high honor of twice being named in general corps and division orders for gallantry; once at Mission Ridge, where, seizing the shot away colors he rallied the line, and again at Franklin, where one historian calls him "bravest of the brave."

That he loved and fought for the essence of human right and liberty and became American, heart and soul, at that time, because our country represented principle not prejudice, is evidenced in one of his letters from the field, in which he lays down the grand modern and socialistic ideal of true "patriotism" as *moral courage for mankind*. Akin to the brave words of the great German leader, Bebel, "I recognize only two parties on earth, that of the honest producer versus the dishonest plunderer; and only one patriotism—*Justice*"—so Realf writes (in words of living fire that ought to be blazoned on every doorpost throughout our land): "I hold that he alone is '*American*' who is true to the *idea* of the *American Republic*. There are many *alien* natures on these shores, but many American hearts

beyond the seas! And I think we shall have to learn that our estimates of 'consanguinity' and 'nationality' are a good deal aside of the mark."

General Miller, in speaking of Realf, says: "He was aide on my staff; intelligent, punctual, faithful, always on duty, earnest, sober, discreet. I certainly regarded him as an officer of rare attainments, efficient and intelligent in duty, his character above reproach. His duties were arduous, discharged with such courtesy and tact as to render valuable service to commander and people, and I found it expedient to retain him till mustered out of service. He was a favorite among officers, popular with the people, especially kind to the poor, the friend of the lowly and ignorant, and often their advocate. The rich and powerful who came found him respectful and polite, but not very sympathetic"—closing words which have something of the sad but awful significance of the *Dies Irae* ending Mary's "Magnificat":

"The hungry hath he filled with good things,  
But the rich hath he sent empty away!"

His battle songs were many and popular, though often dropped carelessly on the march and gathered by local papers and ephemeral publications; but many have rung about campfires and veteran reunions. "My Sword Song," "The Joy Gun," and his lines on "Emancipation" are justly popular. In his "How Long?" we have a veritable American Marsellaise:

How long, O God, how long  
Must fettered Freedom writhe beneath her chains  
And send the wailing of the captive's song  
Across the purple plains?

How long, O God, how long  
Shall she be haunted homeless through the earth;  
Nor Thou—Just One—against the crimson wrong  
Launch Thy broad lightnings forth?

O have Thine eyes not seen  
With what high trust she bore her bitter shames;  
Nor marked how calm and Godlike and serene  
She stood among the flames?

And dost Thou not discern  
 How the fierce, pitiless rabble casteth lots  
 For her white robes—alas! so rent and torn,  
 And smeared with purple spots?

O! if she be Thy child,  
 And Thou art God, burst now this dread eclipse!  
 And let her pass forth free and undefiled  
 With Thy Breath on her lips.

In his cry, "We Need You Not," he sweeps aside the cen-  
 porizing Tories of commercialism:

Out of the way there! ye who stand  
 Between us and the blessed Light  
 That streams up where the Promised Land  
 Dawns faint and far upon our sight!

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Out of the way there! ye who think  
 God's battles can be bought and sold,  
 God's Voices silenced by the chink  
 Of silver and the touch of gold!

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Out of the way! ye cannot buy  
 Our Israel with your subtle creeds  
 While all the wilderness doth lie  
 In manna for our human needs.  
 Back to your flesh pots and your chains,  
 Your brackish water and your thirst;  
 Thank God our *Manhood* still remains!  
 Stand back! We will not be accurst!

To Realf the purgations going through his own soul and that  
 of the nation were the mighty steps of moral evolution casting  
 out the beast. He knew the Master's words, that "evil must  
 come" from the nature of men and things, but "woe" came only  
 to him who would not grow upward.

God's glory lights no mortal brows  
 Which sorrow hath not wasted;  
 No wine hath he for lips of those  
 His lees who never tasted.  
 Nor ever till in bloodiest stress  
 The heart is well approved  
 Does the All-brooding Tenderness  
 Cry, "This is my beloved!"

That his own spiritual purifying was not born of the simper-  
 ing prayers of Phariseism, but of the real agonies of an essen-

tially human and yet heroic soul, is constantly evident. To some friend, chiding him for deserting his muse for the Civil War, he writes:

Leaning here with my sword drawn, on my shield  
Ribbed with the strokes of battle's deadliest hate,  
I have no leisure to unbend my brow  
Into the mood of sonnets! Aye, and thou  
Wilt deem me manlier that I do not yield  
The stern hour into music . . . Some day, perhaps,  
The word within may find an utterance,  
Only not now, while God's great thunder claps  
And still small voices of great covenants  
Are talking in my soul.

That only the purest consecrations to principles of liberty and emancipation tore this gentle poet from nature and human love and tossed him upon the storms of battle was repeatedly revealed in the sweeter longings of his genius:

O that some poet with awed lips on fire  
Of the Ineffable Altars, would arise  
And with his consecrated songs baptize  
Our souls in harmony, that we might acquire  
Insight into the Essential Heart of Life,  
Beating with rhythmic pulses. There is lost  
In the gross echoes of our brawling strife  
Music more rare than that which did accost  
Shakespeare's imagination when it swept  
Nearest the Infinite. Our spirits are  
All out of tune; our discords intercept  
The strains which, like the singing of a star,  
Stream downward from the Holies to attest  
Beyond our jarring restlessnesses—Rest.

Note how delicate and sensitive his rhythmic ear to nature's voices and accords:

O Earth, thou hast not any wind that blows  
Which is not *music*; every weed of thine  
Pressed rightly flows in aromatic wine;  
And every humble hedgerow flower that grows,  
And every little brown bird that doth sing,  
Hath Something Greater than itself, and bears  
A living Word to every living thing.  
. . . A Spirit broods amid the grass.

Vague outlines of the Everlasting Thought  
Lie in the melting shadows as they pass;  
The touch of an Eternal Presence thrills  
The fingers of the sunsets and the hills!

. . . Viewless arms  
Lean lovingly toward us from the air,

\* \* \* \* \*

The sapphire foreheads of the mountains wear  
A light within light, which ensymbols the  
Unutterable Beauty of Perfection!

Realf could etch a portrait and seize a dramatic situation that appealed to him, with marvellous salience. His pictures of Burns and Byron are excellent, but his harp's chords hung more in tune with Shelley's voices, and they were brothers at heart. This he strikingly reveals in his "Liberty and Charity," a splendid tribute to Shelley's spirit, where, after quoting the latter's lines,

"O wherefore should ill ever flow from ill  
And pain still keener pain forever breed?  
We all are Brethren!" etc.

Realf writes:

So sang the wondrous singer all compact  
Of inspiration and prophetic fire,  
All built of instincts whose divineness tracked  
Music to its first springs, and did acquire  
The secret of the Everlasting Fact  
To which the poets of the world aspire,  
And made the land which chased him o'er the seas  
Drunk with the wine of his fierce melodies!

He being dead yet speaketh; his great songs  
Run up and down the listening universe,  
Whitening the cheeks of Tyrannies and Wrongs,  
Smiting Oppression with a lyric curse;  
Fusing the alien thoughts of alien throngs  
So that they dwell in spiritual intercourse,  
And breathing like the sweet wind of the south  
On wan lips wasted by the troubl'ous drouth.

\* \* \* \* \*

He saw Heaven's rivers of compassion roll  
To utmost ends of being; and he strove  
With all the hoarded splendor of his soul  
To make the lean earth bless itself with Love

And crown itself with Love's grand aureole,  
Whereby the rhythmic garlands that he wore  
Were wonderful for beauty—iris hued  
With the great glow of God's Infinitude!

He touches with a democracy as broad as Shelley's and a pathos as tender as Burns' the woes of the "little people"—the seamstress, the Magdalen, the condemned, the cellar mother clinging to the child which officious and stilted charity strives to take away:

Do you think because I live  
In a cellar underground,  
From poverty's yelping hound  
A sort of fugitive,  
That the angels never come  
And look with love on the love I give?

Realf, like Shelley, has been unjustly ostracized by many shallow critics for what was, in the case of these genuine poets, in no sense a wanton wilfulness or irreverence toward love and birth, but, on the contrary, a moral struggle for spiritual integrity in these regards, much keener and more fraught with anguish of soul than smug conventionality ordinarily exacts of itself. His "Birthday Lily" and song to a mother on her "First-Born" are as exquisitely tender, sensitive and divinely pure as were ever penned by human soul; and all his work is redolent of this quintessent delicacy of feeling toward true womanhood, childhood, and old age. Can anything be lovelier than his lines to his little girl?

I hear her low voice in the hall,  
Her liquid laugh among the flowers;  
And pulse leaps unto pulse, and all  
My life goes seeking her for hours.  
And when she rises to my knee,  
And lightly nestles toward my cheek,  
With love that clings so utterly,  
I clasp her, but I cannot speak.

Or was ever cry more genuinely a heartbreak than his moan at her death?

Is the grave deep, dear? Deeper still is Love!  
 They cannot hide thee from thy father's heart.  
 Thou liest below, and I stand here above,  
 Yet we are not apart!

The lyric patter of thy little feet  
 That made a poem of the nursery floor—  
 Thy sweet eyes dancing toward me down the street,  
 Are with me evermore!

Mine eyes ache for thee! God's heaven is so high!  
 We cannot see its singers; when thou dost  
 With thy lark's voice make palpitant all the sky,  
 I moan and pain the most!

The famous lines of his "Indirection" deserve their popularity with the elect, for very stateliness and classic beauty:

Fair are the flowers and the children, but their subtle suggestion is fairer;

Rare is the roseburst of dawn, but the secret that clasps it is rarer;  
 Sweet the exultance of song, but the strain that precedes it is sweeter;  
 And never was poem yet writ but the meaning outmastered the metre.

\* \* \* \* \*

Back of the canvas that throbs, the painter is hinted and hidden;  
 Into the statue that breathes, the soul of the sculptor is bidden;  
 Under the joy that is felt lie the infinite issues of feeling;  
 Crowning the glory revealed is the glory that crowns the revealing.

\* \* \* \* \*

Space is as nothing to *spirit*, the deed is outdone by the doing;  
 The heart of the wooer is warm, but warmer the heart of the wooing;  
 And up from the pits where these shiver, and up from the heights  
 where those shine,  
 Twin Voices and Shadows swim starward, and the Essence of Life is  
*divine*.

I doubt if anything in literature gives more tragically the sense of the world's cruelty to that celestial child within each heart, that pristine purity of each soul, with which it comes from Heaven (and that Wordsworth laments in his "Shades of the Prison House") than does Realf's poem, "My Slain"; nor can any notes ring truer or more mature than these on the slow ripening of the great *Love Element* in the soul of man:

I do believe a grand thought never dies;  
 I do believe that after love is best,  
 When the strange fire that lay within the eyes  
 And the wild singing of the heart's unrest

Have passed away, and we are calm and wise,  
 And think upon the love that makes us blest;  
 I do believe there's more of Heaven in this  
 Than all the eloquence of earlier bliss.

We reel beneath the first as from a blow;  
 We watch its splendor till our eyes are dim;  
 We revel in its nectar till we grow  
 Dizzy and drunken, faint in every limb;  
 And so we sleep and dream, then wake to know  
 Our rapturous songs have deepened to a hymn,  
 Whose sweeter music, like a heavenly psalm,  
 Freshens our souls with drops of holy balm.

It was because the precious prize of a true and eternal love, that he at last attained late in years, was crucified by the brutality and grossness of material connections that had betrayed and misunderstood him, as well as because of the neglect of conventional critics and the despair induced by blindness, old age, and lonely poverty in the far West, where he was striving desperately to gather to him his beloved ones, that, broken and hopeless, like Chatterton he took opium and dropped into the long sleep. And in his lonely and forgotten room, as the death damp settled o'er his brow and he fell on final sleep, his broken heart, like those of Keats and Shelley, wrote its own immortal requiem:

*"De mortuis nil nisi bonum!"* When

For me this end has come and I am dead,  
 And the little, voluble, chattering claws of men  
 Peck at me curiously, then let it be said  
 By some one brave enough to speak the truth,  
 Here lies a great soul killed by cruel wrong.  
 Down all the balmy days of his fresh youth  
 To his bleak, desolate noon, with sword and song  
 And speech that rushed up hotly from the heart,  
 He wrought for Liberty, till his wound,  
 (He had been stabbed) concealed with painful art  
 Through wasting years, mastered him and he swooned.  
 . . . . . If he missed  
 World-honors and world-plaudits, and the wage  
 Of the world's deft lacqueys, still his lips were kissed  
 Daily by those high angels who assuage  
 The thirstings of the poets.

So he died rich. And if his eyes were blurred  
With big films—silence! he is in his grave.  
Greatly he suffered; greatly, too, he erred,  
Yet broke his heart in trying to be brave.  
Nor did he wait till Freedom had become  
The popular shibboleth of courtiers' lips.  
He smote for her when God Himself seemed dumb!

\* \* \* \* \*

He was aweary—but he fought his fight,  
And stood for *simple Manhood*, and was joyed  
To see the august broadening of the Light,  
And new earths heaving Heavenward from the void.  
He loved his fellows, and their love was sweet—  
Plant daisies at his head and at his feet.

JOHN WARD STIMSON.

*Nordhoff, California.*

## THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE.

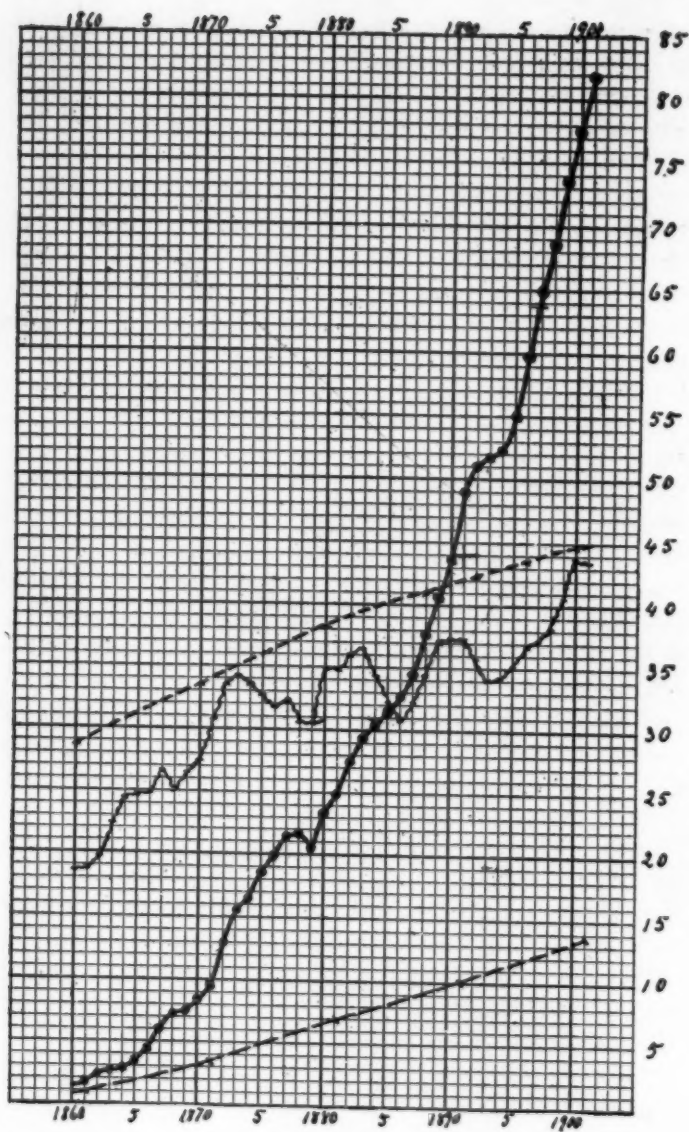
THE most important fact in the industrial history of Europe in the last half century is the rapid increase of coöperation. The movement began in the eighteenth century, but had no great strength till within the last few decades. In 1777 the tailors of Birmingham established a coöperative workshop, the first in English record. In the early years of the nineteenth century Robert Owen gave a vigorous impulse to coöperative ideas. The Economical Society of Sheerness, organized in 1816, was still doing business at the old stand when I was in England a short time ago. By 1830 there were 250 societies in England with three or four hundred coöperative stores (selling on credit and putting profits in a fund to establish coöperative workshops, etc.), and in 1844 the famous Rochdale Society opened a store on the plan of selling for cash at current retail prices, giving the shareholders a fixed interest (five per cent.) and *dividing the profits among the customers, after reserving a small percentage (two and a half per cent.) for education and propaganda.* It was this scheme of equity, thrift, and education that led to the large development of recent times.

EXPLANATION OF CHART.—The beaded line represents the growth of coöperation in the United Kingdom, one square horizontal to the year, and one square vertical to each million pounds sterling of annual coöperative trade.

The lower dotted line represents population, one square vertical to each million increase of population.

The upper dotted line is for manufactures, and the variegated ir-resolute line stands for international commerce. The scale of these two lines is one square vertical to £20,000,000, it being impossible to get them on the diagram with the other scale.

From 1861 to 1901 population has grown from 29,000,000 to 41,500,000; manufactures have risen from about £585,000,000 to £900,000,000; international commerce has climbed from £377,000,000 to £870,500,000 and coöperative business (productive and distributive) has developed from £1,512,117 in 1861 to £81,782,949 in 1901, while the membership of coöperative societies has increased from 48,184 to more than 2,000,000.



THE ENGLISH ROCKET.

The beaded line in the accompanying diagram shows the development of coöperation in the United Kingdom from 1861 to 1901. I call it the English Rocket, because of the directness and vigor of the upward movement it represents. The data were furnished me by Mr. J. C. Gray, the General Secretary of the British Coöperative Union, and I have platted them on the scale of one square horizontal to the year and one square vertical to £1,000,000 of annual coöperative business. The lower dotted line shows the movement of population for the same period. Population is doubling in about eighty years, while coöperative business is doubling in less than a dozen years.

The upper dotted line is for manufactures, and the zigzag, chain-lightning exhibit represents international commerce, or the sum of British exports and imports each year. In the last forty years, 1861 to 1901, population has increased forty-three per cent.; manufactures, fifty-two per cent.; international commerce, 130 per cent., and coöperative business over 5,300 per cent. So that coöperation in England has grown more than forty times as fast as her international trade, 100 times as fast as her manufactures, and 130 times as fast as the population. When we remember that her international trade and her manufactures are England's special pride, the most important and energetic elements of her competitive business, we may realize in some degree how marvelous has been the progress of British coöperation.

Some of the reasons for this remarkable growth of coöperation are most interesting. I went into forty cities and towns in nine European countries, and many places in twenty-six of our States, visiting coöperative stores and productive works and other coöperative institutions, studying the methods and results of coöperative industry, and trying to ascertain the causes of the vigorous expansion of coöperation that is so marked a characteristic of recent years both in Great Britain and on the Continent, and in some localities and industries in our own country. The results of my studies, so far as they relate to causes, may be briefly summed up as follows:

(1) Coöperation means union in place of conflict, harmony instead of antagonism. Buyer and seller are no longer opposed, for the seller is the buyer's agent. Consumers deal with their own stores and factories. In coöperative production the antagonism between labor and capital vanishes, for the workers and capitalists are the same people. Just so far as the coöperative principle is applied union and harmony take the place of antagonism and conflict.

(2) Coöperation means the diffusion of wealth. In the first place profits are widely distributed among consumers and workers. In the last forty years the coöperators of the United Kingdom have done a business of \$5,000,000,000 with \$565,000,000 of profits which have remained in the hands of the working people, instead of going to build the fortunes of the capitalists. Many of the stores pay ten to fifteen per cent. dividends on purchases, after selling at the regular market prices, and some societies pay twenty or twenty-five and even thirty per cent. dividends. The Rochdale pioneers, who laid the foundations of the modern movement, began in November, 1843, with a membership of twelve poor weavers and £5 capital, and opened their first store in April, 1844, with twenty-eight members and £28. When I was there some months ago they had a membership of more than 12,000, and their business for 1901 amounted to \$1,400,000, with a net profit of \$220,000.

The Peoples Coöperative Pharmacies of Brussels pay seventy per cent. dividends. The association has nine shops, supported by a hundred affiliated societies, with 14,000 members, representing 45,000 work people. The medicines are of the finest quality and cost almost nothing compared with the inflated prices of the ordinary apothecary.

In the second place wages are higher and salaries lower than in competitive business in the same locality. I found this everywhere, in England, Scotland, France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Belgium, etc. While visiting coöperative works I made it a point to go into competitive stores and factories of the same kind in the same localities, and I found the wages of the coöperators five to twenty-five per

cent. higher than in competitive business of the same kind in the same place. In addition to this, in many coöperative societies, the workers have a share of the profits. The salaries of the managers are as moderate as the wages of labor are high. For \$1,500 or \$2,000 a year the coöperators get the services of managers who would command \$5,000, \$10,000 or even \$25,000 in similar positions in our competitive system. This is not due to any lack of ability in the coöperative managers. They have built up an organization in Great Britain that would do credit to our ablest financiers—a giant federation of industries or People's Trust with 2,000,000 members and a business of \$400,000,000 a year—an organization so powerful that it can compel great railway corporations to get down on their knees to it and can defy the combined attack of competitive tradesmen. Throughout Europe the coöperative managers are the finest body of men I have ever come in contact with. The coöperators believe in a reasonable equalization and fair diffusion of financial benefits. The managers have enough to give them a comfortable living. And the happiness and honor of directing large affairs and rendering important service under conditions that accord with high ideals of justice and brotherhood more than make up for the added money returns they might obtain in competitive business.

(3) Coöperation means the diffusion of power. It destroys industrial mastery and private monopoly. In true coöperation the workers are partners and have a voice in the election of the directors.

These are the three fundamental elements of full coöperation—union, diffusion of wealth, and diffusion of power. There are many forms of coöperation which are more or less imperfect in respect to one or more of these principles. The labor copartnership people find much fault with the coöperators who give the workers as such no share in profits or direction; while many of the Rochdale people think that coöperative union of consumers is enough since every worker is a consumer also. The best forms of coöperation I have seen make both the workers and consumers partners in the business,

The strangest thing is to find two coöperative enterprises competing with each other. In Rochdale, for example, I found a new coöperative store competing with the original society, and the war between the two coöperative stores is much more intense than between the coöperators and the competitive traders. There is a tendency also in this country for coöperators to fight each other because of differences in regard to methods, etc. Coöperators are not always fully imbued with their own principles, but there is a growing tendency to work together in cordial support of every one who is trying to go toward coöperation, however imperfect his methods or attainments may be when compared with the ideal of full coöperation.

(4) It offers a solution of the problem of the trust. The evils of the trust arise from the concentration of wealth and power. Coöperation diffuses wealth and power, and, therefore, abolishes the evils of concentration. The benefits of industrial organization are secured without the dangers and difficulties of private monopoly. The trusts are coöperative inside. A more extended application of coöperative principles to the trusts so that they may become coöperative on the outside as well as on the inside will remove their disadvantages and retain their benefits.

(5) Coöperation secures safety. Wherever the coöperators are thoroughly organized the store is sure of its custom, and the coöperative manufacturer is sure of his market.

(6) It aids the adjustment of supply and demand. The chaotic production of competitive industry with its alternate gluts and famines has no place in the coöperative world.

(7) It stimulates industry. The competitive system devitalizes the very nerve of energy by denying the workers any share in the profits or control; while coöperation makes the workers partners with a right to share in the profits and a voice in the management. At Shieldhall, near Glasgow, I went through twenty-eight factories of the Scottish Coöperative Wholesale Society, with 2,500 employes making clothing, boots and shoes, furniture, canned goods, confectionery, soap, stockings, underwear, etc., and the energy and efficiency of the workers was one

of the most noteworthy characteristics of the institution. It was the same with the coöperative flour mills of Edinburgh; the stores and factories of the Leeds Society, which has 48,000 members and some of the finest properties in the city; the coöperative builders of London and Paris; the Le Claire paint shop; the iron workers of Paris and Guise, the big coöperative stores of Basle, Geneva, Milan, Rome, Vienna, Berlin, Brussels, etc.—everywhere the coöperative employes have a life and energy far ahead of competitive workers in the same locality. The worker knows he has a better chance, and he puts his heart into his work in a way that is inconceivable to the ordinary workman.

(8) It creates power not only by stimulating industry but through organization and education, developing a public sentiment that tends to eliminate elements of individual and social waste. When the coöperative societies federate into great coöperative wholesale societies, as in England, their strength is multiplied a thousandfold. It is coöperation raised to the second power, yes, to the hundredth power. In Glasgow the competitive tradesmen banded together to kill the coöperative stores by a giant boycott. But the Coöperative Union sent speakers and literature into the district, told the people the facts of the case, and the result was that the coöperative societies grew more rapidly than ever before.

(9) It favors economy. This results from the stimulation of industry, the better payment of labor, the moderate cost of management, and the stoppage of the wastes of conflict. Coöperative industry is not like the milk business, with a dozen competing carts following each other through the same streets every morning, but like the postal service that maps out the whole city and gives each part its fair proportion with no duplication. The cost of superintendence is much less under coöperation than under competition. Every workman is a part owner, and a supervisor of all the rest. If they don't do right his profits are endangered, and so he watches them. The pay of coöperative managers is less than in competitive business, as we have seen. If the steel trust were coöperative, President

Schwab might get \$8,000 or \$10,000 a year, but not \$1,000,000. The salary of the president of a great university might be thought enough for him, and certainly he would not receive more than the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court instead of twenty times the salary of the President of the United States, as at present.

Coöperation raises the wages of common labor; but this does not diminish economy, on the contrary it increases it. No fact of political economy is more thoroughly established than that, within reasonable limits, the best paid labor is the cheapest from an economic point of view. The product per worker is so much greater with well paid labor that the cost per unit of goods is less than with low paid labor, so that our manufacturers are able to undersell European manufacturers in their own markets. Even in this country of high wages manufacturers have been known to increase their profits by doubling wages and improving the condition and spirit of their working people.

(10) Coöperation favors good quality, pure food, honest work, reliable goods. Coöperation does not make shoddy clothes or wooden nutmegs. There is no fraud or adulteration in her manufactures. There is no object in putting water in your own milk or sand in the sugar you are going to eat. A man is not likely to put paper soles in his own shoes, nor chicory in his coffee. The butter from the coöperative creameries of Denmark and New Zealand has the highest reputation in the London market. While in Rome I wanted some olive oil and asked a leading member of Parliament where I could go to be certain of getting the best quality. He told me to go to the coöperative store. I afterward asked the same question of several others, including the manager of one of the largest hotels and the president of the leading bank in the city, and in every case the advice was to go to the coöperative stores if I wished to be sure of getting what I asked for. I found a similar confidence in the integrity of coöperation in other places.

(11) It favors temperance. Intemperance diminishes the profits of all concerned, and public sentiment among the co-operators will not tolerate it.

(12) It improves the conditions of labor—higher wages, shorter hours, more light and air, better sanitation, purer food, more care for safety of buildings, elevators, machinery, etc., dignity of partnership, uplift of responsibility and hope. There is no sweating among coöperators, and they believe in the living wage, not only for themselves but for others, and will not buy of firms that underpay their help. The coöperative hosiery factory of Leicester, for example, closed its account with the house that was giving it the lowest prices on materials because it found that the reason the house could sell so cheaply was that its people did not belong to the trades unions and got low pay. Coöperation also increases the steadiness and permanence of employment. In one coöperative society near Dublin no member can be dismissed except by referendum vote of the association. That is the strongest rule I have met with, but throughout the coöperative field the permanence of employment is much greater than in competitive business.

(13) Coöperation helps the trades unions. John Burns told me that the coöperative societies were a source of great strength in time of strike. In some strikes the workingmen had drawn out as much as \$400 apiece from the coöperative associations to help them through their time of struggle. Hon. Kier Hardie and other labor leaders of Great Britain also assured me that the trades unions were in heartiest sympathy with the coöperative movement. In fact, the great body of coöperators are trade unionists. And the same sympathy and relationship between the trades unions and coöperation prevails upon the Continent.

(14) It develops a nobler manhood and a higher type of character. Industry, energy, sobriety, self-respect, self-reliance, intelligence, sympathy, and public spirit are all favored by coöperation. The fact that the most important product of the industrial system is not merchandise but manhood is fully realized by the coöperators. They say, "We must help make men as well as money;" and again, "One of the things coöperative production has to do is to produce a new moral character in the world."

(15) Coöperation favors good government, not only

through the development of a nobler manhood but by abolishing the great aggregations of wealth and power in the hands of monopolists, which form so large a part of the influences tending to the corruption of government.

(16) Coöperation places man above the dollar, and lifts our whole civilization to a higher plane. In the best forms of coöperation each individual partner has one vote and no more, no matter how many shares of stock he may own. Thus the human elements in production take precedence of capital, and sentiments of equality and fraternity are developed.

There are four groups of relationships among men—conflict, mastery, partnership, and devotion. The competitive system is composed of conflicts and masteries. Coöperation is partnership, and when there is love at the heart of it the partnership becomes a devotion. The world over the relations of partnership and devotion are recognized as superior to the relations of conflict and mastery. The same great law of survival that applies to individuals and races applies also to institutions and relationships. Wherefore conflict and mastery are ultimately sure to give place to partnership and devotion. In other words, coöperation is sure to vanquish competition. There is no better measure of progress or test of civilization for a community than the degree to which its members have learned to coöperate with each other for their common purposes. At the beginning there was almost no coöperation; at the limit of development there will be nothing else, no other relationship left among men.

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## THE REIGN OF TERROR IN FINLAND.

“RUSSIA is the rock against which the sigh for freedom breaks,” said Kossuth, the great statesman and patriot of Hungary. Although fifty years have passed, and sigh after sigh has broken against it, the rock still stands like a colossal monument of bygone ages. It is pointing toward the northern star, as if to remind one of the all-enduring fixity. Other stars may go round as they will; there is one fixed in its place, and under that star the shadow of despotism hopes to endure forever.

While yet in Finland I used to fancy Russia as a giant devil-fish, whose arms extended from the Baltic to the Pacific, from the Black Sea to the Arctic Ocean. Then I would think of my native land as a beautiful mermaid, about whom the giant's cold, chilly arms were slowly creeping, and I feared that some day those arms would crush her. That day has come. The helpless mermaid lies prostrate in the clutch of the octopus. Not that the constitution of Finland has been annulled, as has been so often erroneously stated, and quite generally believed. The Russian government has made only a few inroads upon it. The great grievance of the Finns is not with what has been absolutely done in opposition to their ancient rights and privileges, nor in the number of their rights which have in reality been curtailed, but with the fact that they have henceforth no security. The real grievance of the Finns is that the welfare of their country no longer rests upon an inviolable constitution, but upon the caprice of the ministers.

In order to understand the conditions that have prevailed in Finland since it became an appanage of the Russian crown it is well to recall the historical facts. For nearly 700 years Finland had been united with Sweden in a similar way as Canada

is united with England. The war of Finland, 1808-1809, gave Finland to Russia, but Alexander I. realized that although he might exterminate the Finns, he could never conquer them. Accordingly he was obliged to grant many privileges to the people, and to declare a "union" between the two countries. He forthwith appointed a committee to adjust the laws of the country. The Finns, however, took this as the first sign of bad faith, and when the committee convened in St. Petersburg a memorial was drawn up and presented to the emperor stating that the committee, under the laws of the land, could consider itself only as a deputation, and that the constitutional law-making body, the Landtag of Finland, consisted of the duly elected representatives from all the four estates and could meet only within the boundaries of the country.

In accordance with this memorial and the fundamental laws of the land, the ever-honored Emperor Alexander I. convoked a diet at Borgo, March 28, 1809. On the following day he took a solemn oath that Finland should retain forever the Lutheran creed and its own constitution, have its own monetary system and its own custom houses; that it should be allowed to manage its own local affairs, reserving to the Czar, however, the veto power and the appointment of the governor-general.

The words and the many kind acts of Alexander I. received very favorable comment, and aroused a national enthusiasm which found expression in poetry and song. The words of Arvidson, a young university student, echo the national sentiment, "Swedes we are no longer; Russians we cannot become; therefore, let us be Finns."

There was, however, a large and very respectable part of the community which heard all this with sorrow and dread. In fact, the peasantry had serious cause for apprehension. Their crops had been eaten; their cattle had been killed; their lands were devastated, and their farms in ruins. Famine and pestilence, the inevitable concomitants of war, raged throughout the land. The death lists for the years 1808 and 1809 show 105,260 deaths out of a population of 900,000. Scarce anything was done to alleviate the distress of the overtaxed and overburdened

peasant. But with their characteristic vigor, now that peace was assured, the men of Finland began to cultivate their land. They "built their cities on bleak, barren crags," says their historian; "cut canals through the solid rock with an indomitable perseverance that reminds one of the efforts of the ancient Egyptians; they dried lakes and reclaimed morasses, transforming them in a few years into fertile pastures; they carried the rich soil of agricultural oases scores of miles to agricultural deserts, and created shady groves and smiling gardens where nature had left nothing but brown, bare rock; they set their water-courses to turn mills, erected manufactories in pine forests, and opened up trade with the commercial centers of the world."

The intellectual and moral development of the people kept pace with the material advancement. The national enthusiasm emanating from the university pervaded the country. Newspapers came to be read more generally, as learning became disseminated among the masses. Although the administration of the country and the higher education was still conducted in the Swedish, the Finnish language gradually gained a wider field of usefulness, and its guardian, the peasant, a greater respect and more rights.

But by the appointment of General Arsenii Zakrewski in 1823 to succeed the lenient and humane Count Steinheil as governor-general, an overwhelming obstacle was thrown in the way of further development. Two years later, by the ascension to the throne of Nicholas I., the restrictive tendencies of Zakrewski were accentuated. In fact, the long reign of Nicholas I. was a period of reaction throughout the empire. In Finland a strict censorship was established, and, for some time, all but religious publications were forbidden. Such men as Professor Arvidson and the famous explorer, A. E. Nordenskiöld, were expelled from the university and exiled from their native land.

These impediments, however, instead of bringing the Finns into closer sympathy with Russian ideals, manners and customs, drew a sharper line of demarcation between the two

countries. With the persevering Finns these obstacles became the stepping stones to national advancement. The restriction of their rights fostered an intense love of liberty. The suppression of news created an eager desire for learning. It is true that there were but few publications; but the forbidden fruit was devoured with greater relish, and passed from hand to hand as a precious boon. The fear that their nationality might be entirely suppressed led the best men of Finland to assiduous efforts to prevent such a calamity. The education of the masses was encouraged and urged as the best method of counteracting the reactionary policy of the government. A systematic collection of the old folk-lore was begun, and bore rich fruit. The researches of Dr. Elias Lonnrot among the poetry-loving peasantry of Karjala resulted, in 1849, in the publication of the *Kalevala*—a collection of national poems so systematically arranged by Dr. Lonnrot as to form a complete epic. It was soon translated into Swedish, French, German, and, more latterly, into English. A general cry of admiration went up from literary Europe. Like the discovery of the ruins of Heliopolus, it spoke of the grandeur of the original structure. All critics were unanimous in praising this and its "grand cosmogonic conception," as Prince Kropotkin spoke of it, as "inspired with so pure an ideal (the word, a sung word, dominating throughout the poem over brutal force), so deeply penetrated with the best human feelings, so beautiful in its simplicity."

To the Finns it was a revelation. It was soon read, re-read, and absorbed in every home. In the *Kalevala* everything that was beautiful and ennobling in the national character was reflected as in a mirror, and the longer the nation paused to admire it the more enchanting the reflection appeared. The hearts of the people began to pulsate in rhythmic harmony with its poetic cadence, and minds to mold themselves after the national ideals. Artists took their models, poets and novelists their characters from the national epic; there was no province of human intelligence and action that was not refreshed and fertilized by its universal study.

Fortunately for Finland, Nicholas I. died in 1855, and the liberal-minded Alexander II. became emperor. Soon after, in 1863, he convoked the Landtag, which had not met for half a century. Some of the most important results were the abolition of the censorship, and the establishment of a free public school system throughout the land. The emperor also promised that the Finnish language should be placed on equality with the Swedish in conducting the national administration and the higher education. Otherwise its use was left to local option. Although this promise was not carried into effect until twenty years later, the rapid intellectual, social and material development of the nation dates from this time—or rather from the publication of the Kalevala. Henceforth the Landtag was convoked regularly, as provided by the new law, at least once in five years, and it passed many important measures. As the popular language became the language of the administration, the peasantry became the central supporting column of the national structure.

But to the reactionary party now in power in Russia this marvelous development of the Finns appeared as a menace. A country where people passed from place to place without a passport, and where porters did not listen at the doors of the lodgers, they considered a hotbed of revolution. But there has been no sentiment of separatism in Finland. All that the Finns desire is to be left alone to cultivate their own lands and enjoy their old liberties. The Finns have always been loyal to their ruler. With them honesty is duty. A dishonest man cannot prosper, cannot even open up a place of business in Finland, whose inhabitants form "a large family of 2,500,000 people." Against this family the Russian reactionists have carried on a virulent campaign. During the reign of Alexander III. they were very active, but not successful. The ascension of Nicholas II. to the throne in 1894 appeared very auspicious to the Finns. He not only took the usual oath, but even showed many signs of sympathy towards the Finns.

In 1898, however, the reactionists succeeded in getting one of their tools appointed as governor-general. No sooner had

General Bobrikoff taken his high office than he declared that the Finnish right to separate political existence was an illusion; that there was no substantial foundation for it in any of the acts or words of Alexander I. The people were amazed, appalled. But this was not all. Podbiedonosteff, the procurator of the holy synod, and other men as reactionary as he, discovered the fact, or gave birth to the idea, that the fundamental rights of Finland could be interfered with if these fundamental rights interfered with the welfare of the Russian Empire. In other words, they discovered a loophole which they termed legal, on the principle that the parts should suffer for the whole, and that this principle was an integral part of the plan of Russian government.

The abrogation of maintenance of Finland's ancient rights would seem by this decision to rest on the arbitrary interpretation on the part of Russia as to whether or not they interfered with the welfare of the empire. It is possible that according to the individual opinions of Russian autocrats they might all interfere with the standard of welfare which certain individuals have arbitrarily established to fit the occasion.

In justice to the Russian government it should be stated, however, that the joy of persecution was not the motive which led to the arbitrary acts. During the time that Finland was under Swedish control, the Finns had learned to dislike everything Russian. These anti-Russian tendencies were accentuated, after Finland became an appanage of the Russian crown, by the restrictive and often reactionary policy of the imperial government. Such a form of government was repugnant to the Finns, who had learned to be governed by good laws well administered, and by an enlightened public opinion. At the same time, owing to their larger liberties, their higher culture, and their susceptibility to western ideals, the Finns exerted an attractive influence over the peoples of the Baltic provinces, and even of Russia proper. A Finn would very seldom become Russianized, while many Russians became Finnicized. Unlike his Russian brother, the Finn enjoyed the privileges of free conscience, free speech, and free press.

To the average Russian such a life was enchanting, and many were so fascinated that they became citizens of Finland. In order to do so, however, they were obliged to go through the formality of changing their nationality and becoming subjects of the Grand Duchy. Doubtless this was distasteful to the Russians, but so many and so great were the advantages accruing from such a change, that not a few renounced their nationality.

Such a state of affairs seemed unnatural and antagonistic to the propaganda of the Pan-Slavistic party. Instead of Russian ideals pervading the province, provincial ideals, manners and customs were gradually spreading into the empire.

But there seemed to be no honorable way of checking the progress of the rapidly growing Finnish nationality. The Finns maintained that their rights and privileges and their laws rested upon an inviolable constitution, which could be changed only by a vote of the four estates of the Landtag. That body would never yield.

It was at this juncture that the procurator of the holy synod conceived the idea that the fundamental rights of the Finns can be curtailed in so far as they interfere with those of the empire. Acting according to this new idea the imperial government in 1899 took for its pretext the army service of the Finns. Heretofore, according to a hereditary privilege, the Finns had not been called upon to serve in the Russian army, and their army service had been only three years to the Russian's five. The officers of the Finnish army were to be Finns, and this army could not be called upon to serve outside of the Grand Duchy. This was the first fundamental right of the Finns to be attacked by the Russian government. In some mysterious way the very insignificant army of Finland "interfered with the general welfare of the Russian Empire."

Immediately following the Czar's startling proposal for a disarmament conference in 1899 came his call for a special session of the Finnish Landtag to extend the laws of conscription, and the time of regular service from three to five years. Furthermore, the new law provided that instead of serving in their

own country, the Finnish soldiers were to be scattered among the various troops of the empire. By this means it was hoped to Russianize them.

The representatives of the people had no time to consider the measure before the Czar's decree was issued, February 17, 1899, declaring that thenceforth the laws governing the Grand Duchy be made in the same manner as those of the empire.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the deep feeling of indignation and grief that pervaded the country. It has found a freer expression outside of the Grand Duchy than within its boundaries. Wherever the human heart is beating in sympathetic harmony with universal progress, the oppressed Finnish people have found moral support. In spite of this, one by one the Finns have been deprived of their hereditary rights and privileges. To the Finns this new order of things seems appalling. It is like the drawing of the veil of the dark ages over their beloved country. They have lost everything that is dear to the human heart; their language, their religion, and their independence. They can do nothing but mourn in silence and mortification, for a strict Russian censorship prevents the expression of their just indignation and grief.

The present condition of Finland is apathetic. Last fall the loss of crops was almost complete, and pestilence and famine are devastating the country, which has been drained of its vitality by an excessive migration and military conscription. The young men of Finland are forced to serve five years in the Russian army, and the country is suffering from a lack of men to till the soil. The credit of the country has been ruined, and panic is spreading rapidly. Wholesale migration of the more thrifty has made the already difficult problem of readjustment more complicated. Those who remain behind are literally suffering from physical, intellectual, and moral starvation. There is left nothing to refresh, fertilize, and energize the nation's vitality. The Finns are utterly helpless.

In this sad extremity of their people the best men of Finland are exerting their utmost in the endeavor to alleviate suffering and infuse hope and inspiration among the masses. The young

Finnish party has become exasperated by the humiliation that has been heaped upon the long-suffering people of their native land, and its leaders have advised active resistance. The old Finnish party has adopted the policy of passive resistance and protest. But the inroads upon the constitution of Finland, in the form of imperial decrees, rules and regulations by the governor-general and his subordinates have been so many and so sweeping in their character that even the most conservative are beginning to lose patience. As long as the unconstitutional acts affected only the political life of the people, many were able to bear it, but when the new rules attacked the time-honored social institutions and customs, indignation could no longer be suppressed. For instance, the order to open private mail caused a general protest. The postal director and his secretary refused to sign the order and resigned. No less obnoxious was the order forbidding public meetings and directing the governors of the different provinces of Finland to appoint only such men to fill municipal rural offices as will be subservient to the governor-general. The governor of the province of Ulasborg resigned, while several other provinces were already governed by pliant tools of General Bobrikoff.

The long-suppressed anxiety of the people has changed into a heart-rending sigh of anguish. These words of a national poet express the general sentiment, "Better far than servitude a death upon the gallows." A vicious circle has been established. The high-handed measures cause indignation, and the governor-general is determined to suppress its expression. There is no safety in Finland for honest and patriotic men. The judiciary has been made subservient to General Bobrikoff. Latest advices are ominous. April 24, 1903, was a black day in the history of Finland. It witnessed the inauguration of a reign of terror which, by the ordinance of April 2 and the rescript of April 9, General Bobrikoff had been authorized to establish.

Bobrikoff returned to Finland with authority, if necessary, to close hotels, stores and factories, to forbid general meetings, to dissolve clubs and societies, and to banish without legal pro-

cess any one whose presence in the country he considered objectionable. The expulsion will be ratified by the Czar, unless the nature of the case requires an immediate banishment. Persons thus deported are directed to live in a designated part of the empire.

The first four victims in Helsingfore were Count Mannerheim and Messrs. Castren, Hamelstam, and Wolff.

Later ex-Senator L. Mechelin and several leaders of the young Finnish party also received notices to leave Finland within a week, otherwise they would be deported.

For 700 years Finns have been free men; now they have become Russian serfs, and it is well to make close connections between the Finnish railway system and the Trans-Siberian Road. Finns are long-suffering and patient, but who could endure all this?

While the expression of indignation is suppressed in Finland, outside of the Grand Duchy, especially in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, Russia's relentless tyranny has made the highest officers of state as resentful as the man in the street. Indeed, entire Scandinavia is aflame with indignation and apprehension. The leading journals are warning Scandinavians "that the fate of Finland implies other tragedies of similar character, unless pan-Scandinavia becomes something more than a political dream."

It is apparent that Russia's actions in Finland will draw the people of Scandinavia into a closer union, and that Scandinavian statesmen in future will exert their utmost in the endeavor of forming an alliance of all the powers who are interested in checking the westward march of the relentless bear. It is evidently more important for England to check Russia's movements westward than eastward. Recent events in the far East have brought Japan and England together. Mutual interest may fuse Western Europe into an offensive and defensive alliance against Russian government.

It is interesting to note that while the constitutional government is being crushed in Finland, its advocates are rapidly increasing in Russia proper. The Stendisk or Baptists, the most

progressive part of Russian peasantry, are making rapid progress in their movement for religious and political equality. Young Russia is constantly sighing for higher culture, for larger liberties, and for a freer conscience. Even the Czar has recognized this and issued a decree establishing religious freedom in Russia. Some day Russia will cease to be the rock against which the sigh for freedom breaks.

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## THE ABUSES OF INJUNCTIONS.

THE proper function of judges is to decide law-suits between individuals, but of late the idea seems to be growing in the judicial mind that they are called upon to govern communities. For instance, there have been many occasions on which a Federal judge, arriving at some city in his circuit, finds a strike in progress, thinks that there is a likelihood of a disturbance of the peace, and immediately proceeds at the instance of the employers to issue a blanket-injunction, forbidding all the members of various trade unions, their abettors and friends, and, in fact, the general population, to perform certain acts which he deems prejudicial to the public weal. It is quite clear that such action is in the nature of municipal government, and in no sense a judicial act at all. Our forefathers were very careful in separating the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government, and many are the warnings which they gave us as to the danger of allowing one branch to encroach upon the others, but an injunction of the kind described, if it forbids lawful acts, is virtually a piece of legislation, for it makes them unlawful, and if the court enforces obedience to it it assumes executive functions. Such an injunction is, therefore, a double act of usurpation. In a State like West Virginia, for example, where there have been many flagrant cases of usurpation of the kind, the Governor and legislature must feel very small when a Federal judge comes in sight, for he seems to wield a far-reaching and irresponsible power which they cannot pretend to. He visits them not as a circuit judge but as an imperial satrap.

It is sometimes urged in defense of government by injunction that it ought to prevail where the ordinary government has shown itself inefficient. But clearly, if our courts are to take

the place of our governors and mayors and sheriffs, that power should be given to them by our constitutions, or, at least, by legislative act, and not seized upon by them without any statutory sanction. There exists already the remedy of mandamus by which a negligent official may be forced to do his duty. But this new injunction remedy puts the judge into the civil officer's shoes and supersedes him. The judge becomes legislator and executor of the law, and he is himself the sole judge of the validity of his actions. He makes lawful acts unlawful, tries the alleged breaker of his new-made law without jury and upon affidavits, without opportunity for cross-examining or even seeing the witnesses, and then he fixes the punishment, although, by the very fact of having forbidden the acts himself, he has virtually become an interested party in the case. It is disobedience to *him*, disregard for *his* dignity, which is really at stake, and yet he is the sole judge and executioner. Tyranny could go little farther in Russia or Turkey.

It is obvious that an injunction must enjoin acts which are either lawful or unlawful. If they are unlawful, they are already forbidden by law, and the penal code is a standing injunction against them. Why, then, issue another injunction? If, on the other hand, the acts are lawful, why should they be forbidden? It is a dangerous legislative power to put into the hands of a single judge, and we have seen numerous examples of its abuse. Judges have enjoined the holding of meetings by societies in their own halls, and forbidden the use of ordinary persuasion on the part of members of labor unions, thus annulling, without any color of right, the freedom of meeting together and of speech, which we had supposed to be among our most unquestionable privileges. Our Federal judges are the worst sinners, and the way in which they make interstate commerce and the circulation of the mails a pretext for substituting their authority for that of the State judiciary is calculated to bring the courts into disrespect, and at the same time to centralize power in the Federal courts in a way which would have shocked the framers of the Constitution. Thomas Jefferson early uttered his fears in the premises, and history is proving

them well-founded. "It has long been my opinion," he says (Works, VII., 216), "and I have never shrunk from its expression, that the germ of dissolution of our Federal government is in the constitution of the Federal judiciary—an irresponsible body (for impeachment is scarcely a scarecrow), working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little to-day and a little to-morrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisdiction."

Many people think (and among them not a few judges) that an injunction interferes in some subtle way before the act anticipated is performed. This is nonsense. An injunction does nothing before the act but to forbid it, just as a law forbids a crime. It does not and cannot touch the prospective offender until he has offended. It has no miraculous antecedent power of prevention. It can do only two things—make unlawful a lawful act, and provide for summary punishment for disobedience by proceedings in contempt. The very unusual case of the vacation of a labor-injunction by the judge who granted it recently occurred in the Wabash Railroad suit, and many have regarded it as a sign ~~that~~ the courts are changing their policy. This may be, but it also teaches another lesson. Here is an injunction which the judge himself who made it declares to have had no just foundation, and which, notwithstanding, actually prevailed for four weeks, until it was vacated, and during that time anyone who had disobeyed its illegal directions would have been sent to jail. Should a judge have the power to make a law, which, after four weeks, he himself repeals as iniquitous? I submit the question to Judge Adams.

In view of the fact that government by injunction deprives the prisoner of trial by jury, some reformers have concluded that it was only necessary to provide for such a trial. Such a remedy would be most inadequate. The jury could only consider the question of fact, whether or not the accused has disobeyed the injunction, while the main issue, namely, whether the judge had any right to enjoin the act, would be altogether beyond the scope of their functions. Such a law could only throw sand into the trade unionists' eyes and prevent them from

seeking real relief. The wisest course of action would be in the direction of securing judges who sympathize with people rather than with dollars. Avoid voting for judges who, as lawyers, have been more loyal to corporate interests than to the Commonwealth, and, in the case of the Federal, district and circuit judges, let us begin an agitation for their election by the people for terms of years. Unfortunately this would require an amendment of the United States Constitution.

After all a sound public opinion may be the best corrective of this unfortunate departure from conservative precedents. Let us all say what we think of this new judicial tyranny, and if any judge forbids us to exercise our right of free speech or of assembling peaceably together, let us openly disobey his order and associate ourselves, however humbly, with John Hampden and Patrick Henry, for ship money and tea tax were no less dangerous symptoms of tyranny than government by injunction.

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## THE NORTH STAR OF CONDUCT.

FROM the beginning poet and philosopher have been comparing human life to a voyage. We are out, they tell us, upon the Ocean of Time. Man is in his little venturesome bark. The heavens blacken overhead. The sea-rocks lift around him. His ears are full of the snorting of typhoon and the roar of maelstrom. How shall he make his way through the mountainous green billows to the serene shores—to the pleasant land?

And all philosophy, all religion, has bent its energies to discern through the cloud-rack and the up-whirled mist of ocean the steadfast North Star of guidance. All literatures and all cultures have been an effort to find some unifying principle of conduct in this hazardous, this momentous, voyage from the Unknown to the Unknown.

Century after century some new ideal of success seizes upon the imagination of mankind. For a time it bends all minds to its mould—all but the minds of the stalwart few who dare to think in advance of their age.

The ancient world was spellbound by the glamor of military greatness. Back of the dust of Nineveh, the stones of Carthage, we hear only the tramp of armed men and the hoarse blare of the bugles of battle. Even Greece gloried more in the spear of Achilles than in the chisel of Phidias; in the victories of Philip than in the odes of Pindar.

It is easy to understand how that youth of Athens cried out: "Those trophies of Miltiades, they will not let me sleep!"

But happily the world does not stand still. The Renaissance sent out a new aspiration upon mankind. Men turned from the clash of battle to the quiet of the New Learning. The conflict of arms was somewhat obscured by the stiller conflict of studies. The struggle of man was passing into the realm of mind. Science took root; Art broke leaf; Poetry blossomed.

And here we are now at the end of centuries with a new ideal, a new passion—the passion of commercialism.

"If the King of Mexico has any gold," said Cortez, clamoring at the gates of Montezuma, "let him send it out to us. For I and my companions have a disease of the heart which is cured by gold."

This echo of old seems the voice that one hears coming out of the Moloch of modern trade. This blind god too often, indeed, makes men forgetful of the higher interests of life. He whispers his false hope, and leaves them at the end with only ashes in their hands.

War, learning, commercialism—each has had its hour as man's guiding star. War sometimes may seem a sad necessity. Learning, if it makes us humble, is a noble end. Business industry that provides for the needs of the body is worthy of earnest thought.

But these things are cankered at the heart when they have the worm of self at the heart.

Self is the center of the brute. The unself is the center of man. Man must find the center and live by it, or make utter failure of his life, although he may build cities and rule kingdoms. And no man fails who devotes his life to human welfare, albeit he may be stripped of the world's honor and sent forth to break stones upon the common highway.

Coleridge spoke well in that fine reflection: "When every man is his own end, all things will come to a bad end. Blessed were those days when every man thought himself rich and fortunate by the good success of the public wealth or glory. We want public souls."

What we need for our ideal in this world, and in all worlds, is character, organized and consecrated to human and heroic ends—the spirit that turns from the common greed to the common good.

We need

The fine audacities of honest deed;

The homely old integrities of soul;

The swift temerities that take the part  
Of outcast right—the wisdom of the heart;  
Brave hopes that Mammon never can detain  
Nor sully with his gainless clutch for gain.

EDWIN MARKHAM.

*West New Brighton, N. Y.*

## THE CORRUPTION OF GOVERNMENT BY THE CORPORATIONS.

**I**N no direction has the evil influence of the great corporations and monopolies been so far-reaching and insidious as in the corrupting and debauching of political life. Steadily and with alarming rapidity during the past quarter of a century corporate wealth has been moving toward supremacy in government and in the machinery of commercial and business life.

The recent bold and offensive intermeddling on the part of the Standard Oil Company with a measure before the United States Senate was well calculated to startle the most optimistic patriot. And what is very noticeable in this case is that the measure against which the greatest of all the corporations protested could not be regarded other than as an opening wedge, being mild rather than drastic in its provisions. It is not, however, by telegrams or by outspoken demands that the corporations and trusts rule the nation. But their power is seen by regularly defeating all measures that are demanded by practically the whole electorate excepting the predatory bands fattening off of the people. Witness, for example, the fate of the Hoar Anti-Trust Bill and the Littlefield Bill in the last Congress. While probably not nearly so radical as they should have been, yet both these measures were calculated to insure to the people a far larger measure of their rights, and to curb lawless and corrupt wealth, only measurably, it is true, but in a wholesome manner. Yet both these bills failed of passage.

In the corrupting of State legislatures and the National government and in the influencing of courts the railroads have unquestionably taken the lead; while year by year their control has been narrowed, until to-day the great lines are conducted by a handful of men who so "thoroughly understand each

other" that the results are virtually the same as though the rail-ways were as completely under the management of one organic body, as are the Standard Oil or Steel Trusts. Moreover, the railroad monopoly has more than any other agency—unless it is the lawmakers—assisted in building up the other oppressive, lawless, and corrupt trusts and monopolies, and in crushing out all free competition. We shall confine our illustrations of trust methods, therefore, chiefly to the railroads; but case after case could be cited to conclusively prove that their corrupt practices have been imitated by other trusts and corporations, so that these illustrations are strictly typical.

As far back as the seventies and eighties of the last century leading statesmen and jurists beheld with the gravest apprehensions the rapid advance of corrupt corporate wealth, and the threatened capture of the republic by a plutocracy whose growth was even then becoming giant-like. Hence, we find the Hon. David Davis, long a Justice on the United States Supreme Bench, and later a United States Senator, uttering these solemn and prophetic words:

The rapid growth of corporate power and the malign influence which it exerts by combination on the National and State legislatures, is a well grounded cause of alarm. A struggle is pending in the near future between this overgrown power, with its vast ramifications all over the Union, and a hard grip on much of the political machinery on the one hand, and the people in an unorganized condition on the other, for control of the government. It will be watched by every patriot with intense anxiety.

\* \* \* \* \*

Great corporations and consolidated monopolies are fast seizing the avenues of power that lead to the control of the government. It is an open secret that they rule States through procured legislatures and corrupted courts; that they are strong in Congress, and that they are unscrupulous in the use of means to conquer prejudice and acquire influence. This condition of things is truly alarming, for unless it be changed quickly and thoroughly, free institutions are doomed to be subverted by an oligarchy resting upon a basis of money and of corporate power.

The Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, ex-Judge of the Supreme Bench and ex-Attorney General of the United States, clearly saw that the irrepressible conflict between the corporations and monopolies on the one hand and the people on the other involved the very life of free institutions. Thus we find him declaring that:

All public men must take their side on this question. There can be no neutrals. He that is not for us is against us. We must have legal protection against these abuses. This agitation once begun, and the magnitude of the grievance being understood, it will force our rulers to give us a remedy against it. The monopolies will resist with all their arts and influence, but fifty millions of people, in process of time, will learn the important fact that they are fifty millions strong.

And in 1880 the New York Chamber of Commerce drew from Judge Black a strong letter on the menace of the great railroads, from which the following are extracts:

They express their determination to charge as much as the traffic will bear; that is to say, they will take from the profits of every man's business as much as can be taken without compelling him to quit it. In the aggregate this amounts to the most enormous, oppressive, and unjust tax that ever was laid upon the industry of any people under the sun. The irregularity with which this tax is laid makes it still harder to bear. Men go into a business which may thrive at present rates, and will find themselves crushed by the burdens unexpectedly thrown upon them after they get started. It is the habit of the railroad companies to change their rates of transportation often and suddenly, and, in particular, to make the charges ruinously high without any notice at all. The farmers of the great West have made a large crop of grain which they may sell at fair prices if they can have it carried to eastern ports, even at the unreasonably high rates of last summer. But just now it is said that the railway companies have agreed among themselves to raise the freight five cents per hundred weight, which is equal to an export tax upon the whole crop of probably \$75,000,000. The farmers must submit to this highway robbery or else keep the products of their land to rot on their hands.

A grain dealer of Baltimore gets a reduction or drawback which is denied to others, and he makes a fortune for himself while he ruins his competitors by underselling them. A single

mill at Rochester can stop the wheels of all the rest if its flour be carried at a rate much lower. By discriminations of this kind the profits of one coal mine may be quadrupled, while another, with all its fixtures and machinery, is rendered worthless. Such wrongs as these are done not only in the few sporadic cases, but generally and habitually on a very large scale. Certain oil men, whose refinery was on Long Island, got rebates amounting to \$10,000,000 in eighteen months, and seventy-nine houses (I believe that is the number) engaged in the same business were broken up. The creditors of the Reading Railroad, having coal lands of their own, made discriminations between themselves and others which drove all competition out of the field, gave them the monopoly of the Philadelphia market, and enabled them to charge for their coals as they charge for their freights—whatever they pleased. Thus producers, dealers, and consumers all suffer together.

Commenting on Judge Black's letter, the *Brooklyn Eagle*, December 2, 1880, said: "While the people of the United States have been dreaming of an enlarged and a perfected liberty, a tyranny with the heart and structure of a devil-fish has been growing about them."

James A. Garfield, afterwards President of the United States, thus characterized the railroad peril:

The modern barons, more powerful than their military prototypes, own our greatest highways and levy tribute at will upon all our vast industries. And, as the old feudalism was finally controlled and subordinated only by the combined efforts of the kings and the people of the free cities and towns, so our modern feudalism can be subordinated to the public good only by the great body of the people, acting through their government by wise and just laws.

And United States Senator Windom, afterwards Secretary of the Treasury, in a letter to the President of the Anti-Monopoly League, observed that:

The channels of thought and the channels of commerce, thus owned and controlled by one man, or by a few men, what is to restrain corporate power, or to fix a limit to its exactions upon the people? What is then to hinder these men from depressing or inflating the value of all kinds of property to suit their caprice or avarice, and thereby gathering into their own coffers the wealth of the Nation? Where is the limit to such power as

this? What shall be said of the spirit of a free people who will submit without a protest to be thus bound hand and foot?

The means by which the corporations have gained ascendancy and entrenched themselves in government throughout its various ramifications while securing concessions and privileges that have enabled them to systematically rob all the people and to enjoy immunity while defying the laws that would have promptly placed less powerful offenders than their officials in the penitentiary, have been devious and various.

Strong lobbies, supplied with great corruption funds; bribery, direct and indirect; banquets; railroad passes; free carriage of freight and express matter; oftentimes stock information; the retaining at princely fees of law partners of statesmen, when important measures in the legislature and the National government were involved; liberal contributions to campaign funds whenever the political machine has been in the hands of a party boss who could be trusted; the selection of corporation attorneys and protégés of the trusts for legislative and other prominent and vitally important places in the various branches, or, where their own servants were not available, the selection of parties who were known to be so subservient to the partisan boss as to obey all his commands; the systematic relegating to political oblivion of the ablest men who could not be bought and who persisted in defending the rights of the people against corporate aggression—these are some of the most prominent means employed by trusts, monopolies, and corporations in their struggle for virtual mastery of the republic. And here are a few definite and typical facts touching some phases of this uninterrupted march to power by corrupt methods.

In 1873 there occurred a great railroad quarrel in New York, which led to the appointment of a legislative committee to look into the alleged corrupt practices of the Erie Railway, under the management of Mr. Jay Gould. The "gentlemen's agreement" or the "community of interest" among the great railway corporations of that time was less perfect than now, and the law-makers were not so complacent to the railway magnates as to-day; so the results of this investigating committee's work

was more than a mere perfunctory or whitewashing report, which is all that is expected nowadays. Indeed, the revelations brought to light at that time were described by the committee in its report, as follows:

It is further in evidence that it has been the custom of the managers of the Erie Railway, from year to year, in the past, to spend large sums to control elections and to influence legislation. In the year 1868 more than \$1,000,000 was disbursed from the treasury for "extra and legal services."

Mr. Gould, when last on the stand, and examined in relation to various vouchers shown him, admitted the payment during the three years prior to 1872, of large sums to Barber, Tweed, and others, and to influence legislation or elections; these amounts were charged in the "India-rubber account." The memory of this witness was very defective as to details, and he could only remember large transactions; but could distinctly recall that he had been in the habit of sending money into the numerous districts all over the State, either to control nominations or elections for senators and members of assembly. Considered that, as a rule, such investments paid better than to wait until the men got to Albany, and added the significant remark, when asked a question, that it would be as impossible to specify the numerous instances as it would to recall to mind the numerous freight cars sent over the Erie road from day to day.

It is not reasonable to suppose that the Erie Railway has been alone in the corrupt use of money for the purposes named; but the sudden revelation in the direction of this company has laid bare a chapter in the secret history of railroad management such as has not been permitted before. It exposes the reckless and prodigal use of money, wrung from the people, to purchase the election of the people's representatives, and to bribe them when in office. According to Mr. Gould, his operations extended into four different States. It was his custom to contribute money to influence both nominations and elections.

It was during this investigation that Mr. Gould made his famous declaration of political faith in the following words:

I do not know how much I paid toward helping friendly men. We had four States to look after, and we had to suit our politics to circumstances. In a Democratic district I was a Democrat; in a Republican district I was a Republican, and in a doubtful district I was doubtful; but in every district and at all times I have always been an Erie man.

The legislative committee, as noted above, believed that it was not reasonable that the Erie road was alone in its corrupt practices. The correctness of this assumption was emphasized by the following testimony brought out by a committee of the New York Constitutional Convention, whose chairman was the Hon. George Opdyke:

EDWIN D. WORCESTER, *Sworn*:—I am treasurer of the New York Central Railroad Company, and have been for two years; was assistant treasurer for two years previous.

*Question.* Do you know of the New York Central Railroad Company paying out considerable amounts of money during the sessions of legislatures?

*Answer.* Yes, considerable amounts of money.

*Question.* I think you have succeeded in procuring legislation for two or three years past?

*Answer.* Yes, we succeeded in getting the legislation.

*Question.* Were the expenses attending the application paid by the President of the road?

*Answer.* I can state the amount of money he had; the whole amount of money paid was \$205,000.

*Question.* Did he ever state to you any purpose for which it was to be applied?

*Answer.* Well, I don't remember that he did.

*Question.* How are the items or entries made in your books with reference to the expenditure of this \$205,000?

*Answer.* There were no entries made with regard to those disbursements.

*Question.* Was the authorization given before or after the advances or disbursements were made?

*Answer.* It was after that the board confirmed the advance, but did not state what should be made of the item.

*Question.* What is the condition of the item on your books?

*Answer.* It is charged to the treasurer's office and remains there. The action of the treasurer in advancing the money was confirmed by the board.

*Question.* The year previous about what money was expended?

*Answer.* I think it was something like \$60,000 that was charged to expenses pertaining to the legislature.

In January, 1880, Mr. Gowen, then President of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad, appeared before a committee of the National House of Representatives, and during his testi-

mony he made this astounding remark touching the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company:

I have heard the counsel of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, standing in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, threaten that court with the displeasure of his clients if it decided against them, and all the blood in my body tingled with shame at the humiliating spectacle.

In the famous suit brought by the widow of General Colton against the late C. P. Huntington, letters from the railway magnate were placed in evidence that gave a vivid picture of the methods by which senators, congressmen, judges, governors, editors, and others had been influenced by the corporations in their struggle for advantage and enrichment. These letters were at the time of the trial published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and later were incorporated in the division of Colonel C. C. Post's thoughtful book, "Driven from Sea to Sea," entitled "Bodies Without Souls." Space forbids our quoting more than a few brief extracts from this voluminous correspondence, so freighted with amazing evidence of corrupt practices.

On November 8, 1874, in a lengthy letter from Mr. Huntington to General Colton, the former says:

I have sent out some copies of Tom Scott's bill as amended by me. \* \* \* It would be well for you at once to write some letters for the influential men of San Francisco to sign, to send to all our members of Congress and senators, to go for the bill as we want it.

Under date of November 20 Mr. Huntington makes the following observation concerning Congressman Luttrell:

I am glad to learn that you have Luttrell under your charge, but you must be careful and not let him get anything to strike back with, as he is a cuss, and I do not think it safe for Stanford to talk with him on our matters, as it would be just like him to get up in Congress and lie about what S. said to him. He must have *solid reasons* or he will go back on you.

In another letter on the same day Mr. Huntington says:

Scott is prepared to pay, or promises to pay, a large amount of money to pass his bill, but I do not think he can pass it, al-

though I think this coming session of Congress will be composed of the hungriest set of men that ever got together, and that the d—— only knows what they will do.

Here are some very significant and suggestive words that occur in a letter dated December 1, 1874:

Have any of our people endeavored to do anything with Low and Frisbie? They are both men that can be *convinced*.

\* \* \* I will see Luttrell when he comes over and talk with him, and may be he and we can work together, but if we can brush him out it would have a good effect, and then we could, or at least would try, to get some better timber to work with.

\* \* \* And in this connection it would help us very much if we could fix up Cal. Pacific income and extensions on the basis that was talked of, even if we had to *pay something* to *convince* Low and Frisbie.

In the following extracts we catch a glimpse of one method of the corporations in tampering with the press before they became so powerful as to buy or browbeat the great journals:

It is not possible to control the agent of the Associated Press in San Francisco? \* \* \* Scott has a wonderful power over the press, which I suppose he has got by giving them free passes for many years over his roads.

\* \* \* \* \*

I sent Hopkins an article yesterday cut from the *Commercial Advertiser*; to-day I met one of the editors, Norcutt; he told me Scott paid for having it published; that he would not have let it go into the paper if it had been left to him, etc. With this I send slip from to-day's *Times*. \* \* \* I have just learned that the slip from the *Times* (or the matter contained therein) has gone to Europe by cable. Scott is spending money to get these things sent out, and the fight will go on for some time.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am doing all I can to have the government take 6,000,000 acres of land and give the railroad company credit for \$15,000,000, but the prospect of their doing it is not as bright as I wish it was. I wish you would have the newspapers take the ground that this land ought to be taken by the government and held for the people, so that when they wanted it they could have it, etc. Something that the demagogues can vote and work for.

\* \* \* \* \*

I wish you would have it sent to the Associated Press here that the contract is let to build the S. P. R. R. bridge over the Colorado River.

It would seem that Luttrell was not pliant in the hands of Huntington and his associates. Hence the railroad magnate desires his political death:

I notice what you say of Luttrell; he is a wild hog; don't let him come back to Washington; but as the House is to be largely Democratic, and if he was to be defeated likely it would be charged to us, I think it would be well to beat him with a Democrat; but I would defeat him anyway, and if he got the nomination put up another Democrat and run against him, and in that way elect a Republican. Beat him!

But a year later Mr. Huntington seems to have changed his opinion of Luttrell, while Piper has fallen into disgrace, for he writes on June 7, 1876:

I hope Luttrell will be sent back to Congress. I think it would be a misfortune if he was not. Wigginton has not always been right, but he is a good fellow and is growing every day. Page is always right, and it would be a misfortune to California not to have him in Congress. Piper is a damned hog and should not come back.

And five days later he observes:

I notice what you say of Wigginton, Luttrell, and Piper. The latter should be defeated *at almost any cost*.

This systematic hounding of incorruptible statesmen and those loyal to the people into political oblivion by the corporations has been one of the most marked features of their persistent battle for political supremacy. The case of Attorney-General F. S. Monnett, of Ohio, who for striving to execute the Anti-Trust Law against the Standard Oil Company was driven from political life by the Republican machine of that State, is one of many recent illustrations of this character.

Congress and the press were but two of many agencies and tools which this typical example of corporate greed proposed to use. Hence, on September 27, 1875, Mr. Huntington writes:

Cannot you have Safford call the legislature together and grant such charters as we want at a cost of, say \$25,000?

And here are some highly significant extracts:

In view of the many things we have now before Congress and also in this sinking fund that we wish to establish, in which we propose to put all the company's lands in Utah and Nevada, it is very important that his friends in Washington should be with us, and if that could be brought about by paying Carr, say \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year, I think we could afford to do it, but of course not until he had controlled his friends. They could hurt us very much on this land matter, although I would not propose to put the land in at any more than it is worth, say \$2.50 per acre. I would like to have you get a written proposition from Carr, in which he would agree to control his friends for a fixed sum, then send it to me.

I received three letters from Washington this morning. They all tell me that Scott is there in great force, and says he will pass his bill in spite of Huntington and the Central Pacific. He cannot do it, but it was a great mistake in not letting this matter remain as we fixed it last winter, but these damned interviewers may kill us yet.

It cost money to fix things so that I would know his bill would not pass. I believe with \$200,000 I can pass our bill, but I take it that it is not worth that much to us.

\* \* \* \* \*

Scott is making a terrible effort to pass his bill, and he has many advantages, with his railroads running out from Washington in almost every direction, and on which he gives free passes to every one which he thinks can help him ever so little. The Texas Pacific seems to own almost everyone in the whole country. \* \* \* Scott is working mostly among the commercial men. He switched Senator Spencer of Alabama and Walker of Virginia this week, but you know they can be switched back with the proper arrangements when they are wanted; but Scott is asking for so much that he can promise largely to pay when he wins.

\* \* \* \* \*

Scott is developing more strength for his Texas and P. than I thought it possible for him to do. He has men all over the country to bring influence to bear on their member of Congress. They have considerable money, as they have convinced several parties that I thought we had sure. I am doing all I can, but it is the liveliest fight I was ever in. I sent a man to Richmond, Va., on Saturday, and one to Albany to-day, to get resolutions

passed by the legislatures against subsidies. If I can get them I think it will control two members of the Railroad Committee, and we want them very much. Of course you will see the necessity of keeping such matters to yourselves.

The Railroad Committee of the House was set up for Scott, and it has been a very difficult matter to switch a majority of the committee away from him, but I think it has been done, but Scott is very able, and then he promises everything to everybody, which helps him for the day and in this fight, and just what he may yet do I cannot say.

I told Senator Gordon of Georgia if he could get up a party of the best men of the South, we would pay all their expenses, which I suppose would not be less than \$10,000, and I think it would be money well expended.

Mr. Huntington is constantly alluding to Thomas A. Scott's use of free passes. In the following extract, that refers chiefly to a false note sounded by one of the railway company's daily organs, we also find reference to one of Mr. Scott's forms of influencing votes :

If it was known that the C. P. did not control the S. P. I think we could beat him all the time, although he has about the same advantage over us in Washington that we would have over him in Sacramento. If he wants a committee-man away he gets some fellow (his next friend) to ask him to take a ride to New York, or anywhere else, of course on a free pass, and away they go together. Then Scott has always been very liberal in such matters. Scott got a large number of that drunken, worthless dog Piper's speeches printed, and sent them broadcast over the country. He has flooded Texas with them. The *Sacramento Record-Union* hurts us very much by abusing our best friends. There was a number of that paper came over some little time since that abused Conkling, Stewart, and some other of our friends, with Bristow's name up for President. Gorham took it around and showed it. He showed it to Conkling, with the remark that he did not suppose he cared anything about it, but that he would show him what the railroad organ said about him. If I owned that paper I would control it or burn it.

The above fairly shadows forth the varied methods of procedure touched upon in this voluminous correspondence; and how typical are they of the devious ways by which this grand

old republic, of, for, and by the people, has passed into the hands of corporate wealth, until it has, in fact though not in theory, become largely a government of the corporations, by the corporations, and for the corporations—a government of the few for the vast enrichment of the few, through the exploitation of the toilers and the plunder of the consumers.

In 1894 Mr. Havemeyer, the head of the Sugar Trust, appeared before a United States Senate Committee. Of his testimony and some facts suggested by the same, Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, in his excellent and authoritative work, "Wealth Against Commonwealth," observes:

The President of the Sugar Trust, before a special committee of the United States Senate, testified that this "politics of business" was the custom of "every individual and corporation and firm, trust, or whatever you call it." Asked if he contributed to the State campaign funds, he said: "We always do that. \* \* \* In the State of New York, where the Democratic majority is between 40,000 and 50,000, we throw it their way. In the State of Massachusetts, where the Republican party is doubtful, they probably have the call. \* \* \* Wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is very large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because that is the party which controls the local matters"—which includes the elections to Congress and the Presidential election. Federal judges find the Sugar Trust not subject to the Anti-Trust law. The Attorney-General has not got decisions in the suits against it for refusal to answer census questions. Congress forces the people to buy sugar of it only, and at its price. The Secretary of the Treasury drafts for a committee of Congress a tariff like that the trust needs. Our President is the head of the "dominant party that gets the contribution," and he joins the sugar lobby by recommending, unofficially, legislation in its favor.

By what law gives it, and by what law does not take from it, the Sugar Trust can issue \$85,000,000 of securities on \$10,000,000 of property, and collect \$28,000,000 a year of profits. Control of government, with its Presidents, Congress, Federal Judges, Attorney-Generals, and Cabinet Secretaries, would be a great prize. Probably none of the trust's "raw material" would be so cheaply bought as this if it could be purchased by campaign contributions of a few hundred thousand dollars,

In this connection we would point out the significant fact that every Attorney-General appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate since the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law has been a great corporation, trust, or railway lawyer. Great jurists, like Justice Holmes, of Massachusetts, who has recently been elevated to the Supreme Bench, and who have made records that were not pleasing to corporate interests, have been systematically passed over for those who have won princely fees from trusts, corporations, or railways, and who have been long accustomed to view the trust oppression and corporation aggressions through the spectacles of the corporations.

The observation of President Lincoln, to the effect that you can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time, is doubtless correct, but the fact remains that every day these corrupt parasites of wealth retain their hold on government makes the peaceable triumph of the principles of popular government and the reign of equal rights for all and special privileges for none less probable; while all the time the moral ideals of the people and the nation collectively are being lowered, and the old ideal of right rather than might, of justice and fraternity rather than wealth by indirection and power by corrupt practices, which made the republic of Jefferson the pride and glory of humanity's noblest sons, is weakening its hold on the minds of the people.

There never was a time when the principles of free government called more urgently to men of conviction and conscience to unite and consecrate all life holds dearest to the cause of democracy—to the establishment of freedom, justice, and fraternity—than to-day. And the first step required for the actualization of this greatest of all twentieth century achievements is the securing of majority rule through the initiative and referendum, and the popular ownership of all public utilities.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## THE LUST OF MONEY.

BISHOP Potter finds in "the lust of money" the fruitful source of "divorce, crime, and corruption," and eloquently bemoans the fact that "the one eager, dominant hunger that salutes us from one end to another of our broad land is the passion, the greed, of gain." From time immemorial the "love of money" has been the prolific and inexhaustible theme for sermonizers, and it is charged with begetting more vices than Priam did children, and like Priam surviving them all.

Notwithstanding all the diatribes picturing money as the "root of all evil" and "a vertiginous pool sucking all into its vortex to destroy it," in spite of all the homilies in praise of poverty as the only blessed state and wealth as an obstacle to entrance into the kingdom of heaven; regardless of the beatitudes guaranteed to be found in "plain living and high thinking"—the love of money is the master passion of the age. The liturgy of the day reads: *man's chief end is to make money*; and it spurns the theory that more than one uses is more than one needs, and is only a burden to him—that it is better to be possessed, yea, burdened and cursed by it, than not to possess it at all. Competition in all spheres is so ruthlessly keen that in many cases we have to smother all considerations of personal feeling in favor of material interests. The rush of existence compels us to consider how best we may outwit our fellow-men; in fact, personal advancement has become the fever of the moment—man eating man, man eaten by man: a hard fact, but one that must be recognized by all students of latter-day human nature, when every man is striving to gain some private end. "Every man for himself, and the Devil take the hindmost." This is the Devil's own creed, but it is the creed of modern hurry, hustle, and lust of money.

Ours is not only a thrifty age: it is a spendthrift age, given to immoderate and extravagant indulgences. The philosophy of Horace, "vivitur parvo bene," is obsolete. It is not sufficient "to keep the wolf from the door." To sustain our dignity and to maintain our self-respect, under the eyes of people not socially our immediate neighbors, it is necessary to "put money in thy purse," to display the unmistakable token of success in a plethora of money.

Sydney Smith declared "poverty is infamous in England;" Nelson was driven to deplore that "the want of fortune is a crime I can never get over." Time has added to the verity of the order of precedence to be assigned to the classification of good friends as laid down by Diogenes, "Money, means, and content." There is not in the world to-day a sadder sight, one so suggestive of coming woes, one so possibly reproachful and humiliating, as an empty pocket-book. In our fundamentally industrial society a person should be economically successful if he would enjoy the esteem of his fellow-men. A man endowed with riches is sure to be turned into somebody quite different from the being he was before. "Where affluent fortune empties her horn," it is sure to follow that "lavish honor showers all her stars."

When we say that a man is worth so many dollars, the expression does not convey the idea that moral or other personal excellence is to be measured in terms of money, but it does very distinctly convey the idea that the fact of his possessing many dollars is very much to his credit. And, except in cases of extraordinary excellence, efficiency in any direction that is not immediately of industrial importance, and does not redound to a person's economic benefit, is not of great value as a means of respectability and influence. The word *success*, by the popular meaning given to it, embraces first wealth, then distinction, and perhaps happiness. The man who has something in bank is a successful man. Industrial success and financial triumphs most readily and surely attract the approving regard and plaudits of the world. "*In pretio pretium nunc est; dat census honores; dat census amicitias.*" (Money nowadays is

money; money brings offices; money gains friends). Integrity, personal and moral worth, and high intellectual endowments will, of course, count for something now as always; but the reputation for these excellences alone will not penetrate far enough into the very wide environment of modern society to satisfy even a very modest ambition for public recognition and social distinction. The open sesame to these coveted honors must be found elsewhere:

"'Tis money makes the man, and he who's none  
Is counted neither good nor honorable."

All the world over men have been struggling for the command of the power that great wealth gives. It is simply the continuing effort to replace the feudal system, the aristocracy of birth and rank, into what we have to call the plutocracy. The process began long ago. The Medici showed, hundreds of years ago, the possibilities of a new line of princes—the merchant princes; and their enormous multiplication to-day speaks only of the increased opportunities in the modern world to accumulate great fortunes.

Money getting, and, still more, money accumulation, represents a composite natural faculty or personal quality with which some are endowed in various degrees, and of which others, the great mass, are quite devoid. It is not in the power of all "to place poverty at a sublime distance," or financially to enjoy even "the glorious privilege of being independent."

The mass of the people are never free from debt, with peace of mind disturbed, sleepless nights, digestion impeded—equivocation and want of straightforward dealing: all the grave sufferings and deteriorations that follow an empty exchequer. The faculty of acquiring and hoarding is not possessed by all alike. The acquisition and management of money, like art and mechanical inventions, are often a family trait. It is said that it is easy enough for a man to be rich who is left a fortune; but this is not entirely true. It is no uncommon experience to see men of average intelligence, who inherited a fortune, die a public charge.

The very large number of people constantly staggering under pecuniary difficulties will not agree with Franklin that "the way to wealth is as plain as the way to market," but their experience proves that "strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, . . . and few there be that find it." In extenuation of the cowardice of his nephew, Col. Newcome declared, "A poor devil can't command courage any more than he can make himself six feet high." Very true, and it is an equally plain proposition that no one can command the money talent. Like calling spirits from the vasty deep, any man can do it; but, as Hotspur says, "will they come when you do call for them?"

It is an interesting inquiry to learn wherein the deficiency of financial success lies in so many, and wherein the sufficiency of it lies in so few. It is a still more interesting study why this deficiency is so frequently found in the man of genius, and this sufficiency so common in the man of mediocre abilities; although such inquiries are apt to result in hardly anything more important than the speculation as to the distribution of good and evil in violation of ethical rules, leaving the wicked to flourish while the righteous beg their bread. The man of genius, as a rule, is, as Macaulay said of the Irish, distinguished by qualities that tend to make him interesting rather than prosperous; while the man of mediocrity not infrequently gets into the place and reaps the profit that should be the reward of the man who creates. Many of this latter class stalk in the byways of public and private life "by poverty depressed," finding little comfort in the consoling philosophy of Professor Huxley that "failure is one of the commonest disguises assumed by blessings."

The golden rule of getting rich is to be found in the maxim, "Light gains make heavy purses." Nothing develops a tendency to save so much as having already laid by something. The ability not merely to make money, but to hold on to it, is the corner-stone of all wealth. It may not be the most amiable of traits; it may develop into sordid avarice, harshness, and meanness; its ends may be narrow and selfish: but it is indis-

pensable for that "incarnation of fat dividends" which the *opium furiata cupido* of the day requires as the most ascertainable and satisfactory measure of one's standing.

We have more scientific and economic knowledge than can be accommodated to the just distribution of the produce it multiplies. The cultivation of those sciences that have enlarged the limits of the empire of man over the external world and enabled man to enslave the elements has left man himself a slave: instead of lightening it has added a weight to the curse on Adam. We are in danger of exemplifying in an exceptional way the saying, "He that hath, to him shall be given: and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath," and driving the vessel of State between the Scylla and Charybdis of anarchy and despotism. It is questionable whether it is possible to moralize the new plutocracy, so as to make it more efficient than the decadent old aristocracy. We have, it is true, many shining examples of the noble use of money—of great wealth associated with virtues as well as power. But we cannot get away from the conviction that human nature, after all, does not change greatly in the course of ages, and that a position won by the remorseless manipulation of business on the stock market may be made to serve as bad ends as that of a dictator by grace of the sword.

BOYD WINCHESTER.

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## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC LEAGUE.

THE object of this paper is to put the readers of the ARENA on their guard against the pretensions of an organization calling itself the National Economic League. Professing to be wholly devoted to the spread of economic truth and securing the endorsement of prominent thinkers by artfully concealing its real purpose, this league appears to me, in the light of the works it publishes and disseminates, to be a bald-faced conspiracy against the truth, promoted by men who are doing all they can to subvert our institutions and make plutocracy dominant throughout the land. In furtherance of its design this National Economic League is putting forth two books, written by Freeman Otis Willey, and entitled, "The Laborer and the Capitalist" and "Education, State Socialism, and the Trust." In their appearance great is the rejoicing of such men as Lyman J. Gage, Joseph H. Manly, Gustav H. Schwab, and others of their kind. A few clergymen are also found to endorse the scheme, and two laboring men, the letters of each of whom are a grim and unconscious satire on all the books stand for. One of them writes concerning "The Laborer and the Capitalist," "I am reduced to the submerged tenth. I get very little over a dollar a day. The book I feel sure will be one that will make a mark;" and the other, "Were I not so poor I would place the book in the hands of several of my acquaintances who are looking farther than to-day."

The wonderful things that people will know who read these books are set forth in a printed circular which, it appears, is not intended for advanced thinkers, but which occasionally goes astray. Among these wonderful things are the following:

Whoever reads "The Laborer and the Capitalist" and "Education, State Socialism, and the Trust" will know that the belief

that if the wealth now in the hands of the few had been equally distributed among the people at the time and place of production everybody would be faring sumptuously, is not true; will know almost to a mathematical certainty, that if the wealth now in the hands of a few had been distributed equally at the time and place of production, the portion going to each individual would hardly have sustained life, to say nothing of maintaining an individual in luxury; will know that the belief that the subdivision of labor, so that one workman performing a small part, as in the manufacture of shoes, for example (one lasts, another trims, etc.), renders the mechanic's task monotonous, and necessarily retards the mental growth, is the very opposite of truth; will know not only for himself, but will convince others, that the belief that the land, and, indeed, all the wealth of the land, is concentrating in the hands of the few is not only not true, but, on the contrary, will know that all the wealth of the land, instead of concentrating in the hands of the few, is diffusing among the many; will know that corporations and large aggregations of wealth do not render it harder for people of small means to become sharers in the profits of manufacturers, etc., but, on the contrary, that these corporations and combinations of wealth, have greatly increased the opportunities of men and women of small means to invest their earnings and become sharers in the profits of manufacture, trade, etc.; will know, as a matter of fact and record, that the corporate organizations throughout the country, even those called "trusts," are a means by which the profits of industry are fairly distributed among the people.

These assertions make it plain why Lyman Gage and his like endorse these books and why certain sycophantic clergymen are so eager to cry, "ME TOO." One thing indeed the books do stand for as claimed, and that is industrial peace, peace between capital and labor, the peace of the lion and the lamb, with the lamb inside.

The mildest terms we can truthfully use in designating Mr. Willey's work is that it is subtle, deceptive, shallow, ill-reasoned, ignorant, and insincere. It presents such an unfathomable slough of misstatement and illogic that it is hard approaching or dealing with it. Of course, the books contain some truths, and much *appearance* of candor. For this reason they are all the more alluring and dangerous. Thus, for example,

we will take his statement of Socialism, as given in "The Laborer and the Capitalist." He says:

If we assume that the Socialistic sentiment is growing faster than any other political theory, faster than the voting population, the question as to what the arguments of Socialism are becomes very important.

As I cast my mind over the subject with a view to answering this question, I am reminded of a certain rule of conduct adhered to by Abraham Lincoln, which is very applicable to the present case.

Into whatever debate he entered he never understated the cause or the arguments of the opposing party. The more important the question at issue, the more pains he took to state the opposite side clearly. In the practice of the legal profession it not infrequently happened that he placed the law and evidence, which had been supposed to contradict his theory of the case, before the court and jury in a stronger light against himself than even his adversaries had thought of or were capable of doing. This course was not only generous toward others, but it was a winning card for himself, for the reason that when he came to state the still stronger logic of his own side, the justice of his cause was all the more clearly seen.

If ever there was a time when all the arguments on both sides of a great question needed to be clearly stated and carefully considered, that time is now, in the present controversy between conservative capital and the rapidly growing sentiment of Socialism.

After this imposing preamble we naturally expect to get something clear, candid, and profound. Instead of this we run almost at the outset against a subtle falsehood, whether told in ignorance or with intent to deceive we have no means of knowing. He represents the Socialist as demanding the renunciation of the ownership of *private property*. Now what the Socialist really does demand is the abolition of *private capitalism*. If Mr. Willey does not know the distinction between the two he should not write books. If he does know he has practised wilful deception under the pretense of great virtue.

There is a vast difference between private property and private capitalism, as every intelligent person knows. It will not be sufficient for Mr. Willey to fall back upon a quotation

from some ignorant or careless Socialist. He must state what Socialism is in essence, not what it is at times claimed to be even by its professed followers. Christianity and other great movements have often been misstated and even misunderstood by their most ardent supporters, and the same is true of Socialism. If Mr. Willey is incapable of intelligently and fairly presenting this great subject he should let it alone, or at least not write against it.

Again, this much commended author is incapable of understanding that the only equality not already enjoyed, at least in theory, which Socialism may inevitably bring about in the remote future is economic equality. Could he have understood this he never would have penned anything so pitifully inane as the following:

Let us go down to first principles as nearly as possible. We will begin with the universally accepted proposition that no two human beings are constituted exactly alike. It therefore follows that no two can always think exactly the same thoughts, nor are they affected exactly the same by environment. We cannot all occupy the same spot of earth at the same time, nor strike the same vein of success. Some are born in the centers of education and refinement, others amid ignorance and barbarism; some are rugged, others are frail. In short, our mental capacities are not equal, our physical strength is not equal, and our opportunities are not equal. Some must be wiser than others, some richer, and some both wiser and richer, etc.

This in perfect accord with natural law. The difference in the results we behold are based upon the difference in constitutions. To change this basic principle, or the results that flow from it, would destroy human happiness, since we know and appreciate only through differences (contrasts). If all were as tall as the tallest there would be no tall people; if all were as short as the shortest there would be no short people; if all were as wise as the wisest there would be no wise people; if all were as happy as the happiest there would be no happy people. If there were no difference in color we would know no color; if there were none of that which we call evil we could not appreciate the good; in fact, without evil it would be impossible to give good a name that could be understood. Therefore, if differences were stricken out, greatness, goodness, variety, indeed, all that we admire, appreciate, and love would be gone,

and a monotony would reign a million times more cruel to beings constituted as we are than any differences we have ever known in the conditions of life that now environ us.

Now all of this like much else that this author has written is not only partly nonsense in itself, but is totally wide of the mark, even if it were all true. Socialism seeks no such dead level, nor is any such dead level possible.

As has been said the only equality not already enjoyed in theory that may be inevitable under Socialism is economic equality. There may, indeed, be no rich and no poor, but this will not eliminate differences of temperament, intellect, or attainment. Indeed, these differences will doubtless become greater through division of labor, enlarged opportunity, and a wider individual freedom.

Once more we drop a hook into this bog of unreason and pull up the following:

To the end that financial talent shall redound to the public good, Nature has ordained that we shall buy of and sell to others, precisely as others buy of and sell to us; so that in the long run the benefits arising from the exchange are shared by all. This fundamental and almost universally overlooked truth may be illustrated as follows:

Jones is a shoe manufacturer; you are the people. Jones manufactures shoes; you (the people) purchase them of him at market price and pay the money.

Now, what will Jones do with the money? He can neither eat, drink, nor wear it. He must turn around and pay every cent back to you (the people) for the products of your labor. He must pay you the market price, mark you, as you have paid him the market price.

Now, Jones has bought of you (the people) precisely as much as you have bought of him (the manufacturer); and, both having made your exchanges according to prices ruling in the general market, it necessarily follows that you (the people) have gained as much as Jones (the manufacturer).

This is the result of an infinite and irrevocable law of exchange and mutual dependence which unites all interests in one and strikes a just balance between capital and labor, between capital and capital.

\* \* \* \* \*

This is the law of exchange and mutual dependence. This law made it impossible for Vanderbilt to gain \$100,000,000 without benefiting the world at least another \$100,000,000. He was forced to buy as much of the people as they bought of him. He was compelled to increase the trade of others precisely as much as he increased his own. He could not purchase of himself; he could not sell to himself; the people were his customers, and he was theirs. So far as Vanderbilt's energy, financial ability, and material success were above the average, so far was he bound to increase the business of the world above the average.

These utterances are intended as a defense of the present system, and, while the present system remains, they in a measure express the truth. But they are not altogether true, and they manifest something of that art of deception which is so conspicuous in this work. Very much said here of Jones and Vanderbilt could be said with equal truth of a highway robber. He, too, if he would have the necessities of life must pay back to the people what he takes from them, must in the end pay it all back, but the trouble is he does not pay it back to those from whom he has taken it. Neither does Jones nor Vanderbilt. The highwayman takes his money from his victims, lives on it, and pays out his surplus possibly to saloon-keepers and harlots; Jones takes his from his customers and laborers and may pay it out in the same way, or, if he be a moral man, he may pay it out to servants, yacht-builders, and caterers. Of course, it all goes back into circulation, but what shall we say of a writer that would claim that there is necessarily justice or equity in it.

In some respects the ethics of the highwayman are superior to those of Jones. The former robs his victim once of what he happens to have on his person and lets him go to live and earn more; the latter may rob continuously as long as his victim can produce anything worth the while and then turn him out to die.

Every sensible man knows, as a matter of course, that there are honest and noble-minded capitalists who are doing all they can for labor, and who find it impossible to advance wages

without incurring danger of bankruptcy. That so many of this class are constantly threatened with failure is an argument against the competitive system, of which too often both employer and employee are alike victims, rather than in favor of it, as this author with shameless perversion tries to show.

The following is an example of Mr. Willey's method of answering a fair and plain statement of fact. He quotes from Mr. Bryan as follows:

"I want to make a sweeping assertion, that in all the history of the human race the capitalistic class never conceived of or carried out a reform to the benefit of the people. Do not misunderstand me; I do not mean that no capitalist was ever a reformer; but I say that capitalistic classes have never been looked to; are not looked to to-day, and never will be looked to for the reforms which society needs."

And then harangues in the following irrelevant manner:

We have rarely met with anything more calculated to intensify class prejudice than the foregoing utterances of Mr. Bryan. His theory is that the capitalistic class never conceived of or carried out a reform to the benefit of the people. Let us see:

Thomas Jefferson was one of the capitalists of his day, and the author of the Declaration of Independence. John Hancock was one of the richest men of his time, and his name stands first on that same immortal document. Robert Morris, Treasurer of the Colonial Government, was a capitalist, and made great financial, as well as other sacrifices, for the success of the American cause. John Adams, the great defender of the Declaration of Independence, was a capitalist, and a large one for his day. Alexander Hamilton, first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, was rich for his time. Benjamin Franklin, who was, perhaps, the greatest power in the Constitutional Convention, was also a capitalist, and left large legacies at his death. Washington, who led the American army to victory, was one of the wealthiest men of the New World.

Indeed, must it not be admitted, that capitalists performed an honorable, even a leading part, in the planning and directing of the War of the Revolution, and in launching the American Republic upon the tide of national destiny, under the freest and best constitution that has ever appeared on earth, thus consummating the greatest reform of which history has any account?

In this way he continues for several pages, making statements which Mr. Bryan admits in advance, or which have nothing whatever to do with the subject.

As a specially fine specimen of this author's brilliancy I quote his reply to a questioner:

A mechanic of rare intelligence, who has charge of a large number of workmen, and is receiving high wages, lately remarked to us with a great deal of emphasis that, say what we might, the fact still remains that the laborer was obliged to ask "leave to toil." We asked him this question: "Which would you regard as the most humiliating, to be obliged to ask leave to toil, as you now do, or to ask leave not to toil, as you might be obliged to do under the Socialist regime?" He replied that the question had never been put to him in just that way before, and his thoughtful look indicated that a new idea of much value had dawned upon him.

Is this man ignorant of the fact that laborers to-day have not only to beg leave to toil, but have to beg leave to rest, to take a day off on account of sickness at home, that they are often refused and many times lose their job in consequence of a necessary disobedience to some "lordly fellow worm?" Probably he had not thought of this, for his mind may have been centered on the danger to himself of being obliged to do some useful work in case socialism should come into vogue. There is nothing probably which would frighten his class any more, and this may partly account for the sudden activity of this National Economic League. Let Willey not be disturbed. Socialism will require nothing of him. It will guarantee him a place to earn an honest living, but if he wishes to refuse he can do voluntarily what thousands are now forced to do under the competitive system, he can retire from the work of the world and starve.

In order to prove the butter rancid one need not eat an entire firkin of it, and possibly enough has been said about the so-called "Judge" Willey and his economic work. He is simply an out-and-out defender of the present social system, denying everything against, and asserting everything in favor of that system. He confuses the labor movement with socialism, gives

capital an economic priority to labor, makes profit the cause of higher wages, argues in favor of trusts as they are, denies the utility of public ownership, either actual or theoretical, doubts the efficacy of our postoffice system compared with what private ownership would make it, and is sure the government could never afford to take over the railroads. On this last point he favors his readers with the following:

In order for our government to own what are called public utilities, it must first purchase them of their present owners.

The railroads in the United States would alone cost the government at least twelve billion dollars. The government, not having sufficient money to pay down, would, of course, be obliged to give bonds to secure the payment thereof.

Suppose the present owners could be induced to receive bonds bearing  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest; the present incomes of the roads would not pay interest on the debt, to say nothing of paying the principal. Let us be sure that we are right about this.

The net income of the railroads in the United States for 1899 was \$389,666,474. Three and a half per cent. interest on \$12,000,000,000 is \$420,000,000. Difference \$30,332,516.

That is, should the government purchase the railroads and bond itself for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., as aforesaid, the present net income of the railroads would fall short of paying interest on the debt by over \$30,000,000 per annum.

Therefore, the present net income of the railroads would need to increase about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum in order to meet the interest of the debt at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

But suppose the government should undertake to cancel the debt at the rate of, say, \$200,000,000 per annum. The net income of the railroads would need to increase at least 36 per cent., while sixty years would be required to settle the account in full. A part of these extra charges might be met by an increase in the carrying trade, while a part would in all probability have to be met by an increase in fares and freight charges, or taxes in other directions.

In short, as the case now stands, it is beyond the power of this government to purchase the railroads and pay a fair rate of interest on the debt that would necessarily be incurred, and make reasonable progress in the way of canceling that debt without charging the people much more for transportation than they are now paying, or by increasing taxation in other directions, as before stated.

In this little statement he forgets to say why the government should pay at least twelve billion dollars for the railroads if they are not worth it, as evidently they are not when they will not earn a fair rate of interest on that sum. Again, he forgets that the expense of operating might be greatly reduced under public ownership, but these are small matters with this great author who habitually forgets everything which it is not for the interest of his clients to remember.

The only real issue before the people of this country to-day is that of plutocracy against democracy. Questions of tariff, taxation, temperance, and even of public ownership dwindle into insignificance in comparison with it. Are we to be a free people, governing ourselves, advancing toward a higher, purer democracy, or are we to come under the domination of the lords of wealth who own the press, direct the teaching of our colleges, restrain our pulpits, control commerce, corrupt legislatures, and dictate the national policy? The National Economic League with its endorsers and supporters is for the reign of the dollar.

Socialism stands first and last and all the time for the supremacy of man. It embodies the instinct of self-preservation against its ancient and deadly foe, the lust for power generated by the possession of wealth. The first great problem of socialism is not the public ownership of public utilities, but the people's ownership of themselves, the people's rule. What a pity that all the best elements of all political parties cannot see this issue and unite for glorious victory.

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## SOME AUTHENTICATED GHOST STORIES.

**I**S the modern so-called historical novel, with its braggart, devil-may-care hero, to give place to the romance through whose pages stalks the phantom form of the unladen ghost? Are Bulwer Lytton's "A Strange Story" and George McDonald's "The Portent" to prove the forerunners of a great host of psychical novels, even as the famous D'Artagnan romances of the elder Dumas were the precursors of the romantic historic novels of recent years?

Such a result seems not improbable. The investigations of advanced psychologists and students of psychic science have opened up new fields of knowledge wherein lies rich material for the imagination of the novelist; while the widespread and general belief in ghosts—or, to be more exact, in various supernormal phenomena—indefinite and vague though it be, would yet insure a large clientele to the writer bold enough to thus depart from the beaten track.

Already we have many indications of the advent of a new class of novels in whose plots the restless spirits of the departed play an important part.

Since the appearance a few years ago of Mr. Samuel Clemens' remarkable life of Joan of Arc, which was originally published in the *Century Magazine*, and whose authorship was for some time a matter for much speculation, many prominent literateurs have occupied themselves with subjects dealing with apparitions and other psychic phenomena.

Mr. Andrew Lang has been scarcely less happy than Mark Twain in his treatment of the weird and the uncanny.

Even more remarkable is the spectacle of the grave, warm-hearted, and serious Dr. John Watson turning aside from other matters to pursue the elusive ghost. True, Dr. Watson is some-

thing of an idealist; he is also a Scotchman, and the weird and the mysterious have always possessed a strange fascination for the Scotch, stern Presbyterians though they be.

However, no such reasons as the above can be urged to account for the numerous extremely uncanny tales which within the last year and a half have appeared from the pen of that high-priestess of New England realism, Mary Wilkins-Freeman.

Nor is this all. Numerous popular English and American magazines are giving considerable space to stories in which the supernatural and the occult play a large part. In our own country such periodicals as *Everybody's Magazine* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, edited by the talented son of the famous Baptist divine, Rev. George C. Lorimer, are offering as leading attractions the psychical stories of Mrs. Wilkins-Freeman and Ian Maclaren.

A recognition of the general and increasing interest in psychic phenomena is probably largely responsible for this sudden friendly attitude toward the ghostly visitor of shrewd publishers and editors in intimate touch with the reading public. But in the case of the authors I imagine that either personal psychic experiences or a conviction of the basic truth underlying psychic manifestations, due to the rapidly accumulating mass of evidence gathered by scientists and scientific bodies, are in part at least accountable for their giving some of their best efforts to the creation of psychic romances.

However fascinating to the popular mind may be the ghost story which claims to be nothing more than the creation of a fertile imagination, its consideration in the pages of the *ARENA* would doubtless be considered foreign to the purpose of a magazine given primarily to advanced or progressive thought and research.

When, however, we come to consider psychic phenomena which, according to the testimony of men and women prominent in society, of known veracity, and of undoubted sanity, have actually taken place—phenomena which have been carefully examined and critically investigated by one of the most scientific bodies in the English-speaking world—the subject

assumes an importance akin to that of other questions occupying the thought of experimental scientists to-day. Without losing any of the fascination attaching to the ghost story, it yet becomes a legitimate subject of scientific speculation, and one which is at present commanding the most serious consideration of many of the world's most prominent psychologists and psychic investigators.

At the time of his death the late Frederic W. H. Myers had nearly completed a most remarkable and exhaustive work, which has since been published, entitled "Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death." The volume may almost be said to epitomize the twenty-one years' work of the English Society for Psychical Research, and contains scores upon scores of descriptions of apparitions and other extraordinary psychical phenomena, many of which far exceed in interest any invention of the novelist's brain. The cases herein mentioned, it should be remembered, have all been carefully investigated according to the rigidly critical methods of modern scientific research, with a view to testing their authenticity and obtaining data of real value to prove whether or not the alleged phenomena were fully discussed in their various bearings at the time of the occurrence; whether they were subjective (that is, visible to one person only) or objective (that is, apparent to more than one person at the same time). The corroborative testimony and the detailed accounts of these supernatural happenings are given in Mr. Myers' work with the completeness essential to a scientific treatise intended for students and to enable the reader to weigh the pros and cons of the subject.

Thinking that a few typical cases from this remarkable book will be of interest to the readers, I condense in the briefest possible way the following four stories, all of which appear in the greatest detail and fully authenticated in the work in question.

CASE I. Baron von Driesen, a well-known Russian nobleman, who appears to be a devout man, had retired on the night in question after reading a chapter in the Gospel. This was eight days after the death of his father-in-law, M. Ponomareff, with whom he had not been on the best of terms, owing to some

*Why still speak as though the brain were the producing agent? The brain is no more than the muscle; it is the*

differences of opinion on certain subjects. The Baron had just put out the candle when he heard the sound of footsteps shuffling in the adjoining room, which stopped before the door of the bedroom. He called out, but receiving no answer struck a match, when he saw his father-in-law standing before the closed door in his blue fur-lined dressing-gown, black trousers and white waistcoat. "What do you want?" asked the Baron. M. Ponomareff stepped to the side of the bed and said, "Basil Feorodovitch, I have acted wrongly toward you. Forgive me! Without this I do not feel at rest there," pointing with his left hand to the ceiling while holding out his right, which was cold and damp, to the Baron, who grasped it saying, "Nicholas Ivanovitch, God is my witness that I have never had anything against you."

At this M. Ponomareff bowed, and moved away through the opposite door into the billiard-room, where he disappeared. On the following day, according to the custom of the Greek Church, a liturgy for the repose of the soul of the deceased was to be celebrated. On reaching the church Baron von Driesen told his confessor, Father Basil Bajenoff, of the apparition, when to his amazement the priest informed him that he too had received a midnight visit from M. Ponomareff, who had begged him to reconcile his son-in-law to him. In regard to the occurrence the priest made the following statement:

"To the account I heard from Baron B. F. Driesen in the presence of his wife's brothers \* \* \* as to how M. Nicholas I. Ponomareff appeared to him \* \* \* and begged the Baron to be reconciled to him, I may add that to me also did he appear *at the same time* and with the same request, which fact, before hearing the Baron's narrative, I communicated to all those present at the liturgy for the rest of the soul of the late M. N. I. Ponomareff."

CASE II. The second case describes one of the most remarkable dreams on record. The dreamer was the famous Assyriologist, Professor Hermann V. Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, who has had charge of the excavations at Nippur. I give below a part of the professor's own account of his dream:

*Thought-powers which form ideas, -  
by which we "see" spiritually. -*

One Saturday evening, about the middle of March, 1893, I had been wearying myself, as I had done so often in the weeks preceding, in the vain attempt to decipher two small fragments of agate which were supposed to belong to the finger-rings of some Babylonian. The labor was much increased by the fact that the fragments presented remains only of characters and lines, and that dozens of similar fragments had been found in the ruins of the Temple of Bel at Nippur, with which nothing could be done; that in this case, furthermore, I had never had the originals before me, but only a hasty sketch made by one of the members of the expedition sent by the University of Pennsylvania to Babylonia.

I could not say more than that the fragments, taking into consideration the place in which they were found and the peculiar characteristics of the cuneiform characters preserved upon them, sprang from the Cassite period of Babylonian history (circa 1700-1140 B. C.); moreover, as the first character of the third line of the first fragment seemed to be KU, I ascribed the fragment, with an interrogation point, to King Kurigalzu, while I placed the other fragment as unclassifiable with other Cassite fragments upon a page of my book where I published the unclassifiable fragments. The proofs already lay before me, but I was far from satisfied. The whole problem passed yet again through my mind that March evening before I placed my mark of approval under the last correction in the book. Even then I had come to no conclusion. About midnight, weary and exhausted, I went to bed and was soon in deep sleep. Then I dreamed the following remarkable dream:

A tall, thin priest of the old pre-Christian Nippur, about forty years of age and clad in a simple abba, led me into the treasure-chamber of the temple, on its southwest side. He went with me into a small, low-ceiled room, without windows, in which there was a large wooden chest, while scraps of agate and lapis-lazuli lay scattered on the floor. Here he addressed me as follows:

"King Kurigalzu (circa 1300 B. C.) once sent to the Temple of Bel, among other articles of agate and lapis-lazuli, an inscribed votive cylinder of agate. Then we priests suddenly received the command to make for the statue of the God Ninib a pair of ear-rings of agate. We were in great dismay, since there was no agate as raw material at hand. In order to execute the command there was nothing for us to do but cut the votive cylinder into three parts, thus making three rings, each of which contains a portion of the original inscription. The

first two rings served as ear-rings for the statue of the god; the two fragments which have given you so much trouble are portions of them. If you put the two together you will have confirmed my words. But the third ring you have not yet found in the course of your excavations, and you never will find it."

With this the priest disappeared. I awoke at once and immediately told my wife the dream, that I might not forget it. Next morning—Sunday—I examined the fragments once more in the light of these disclosures, and, to my astonishment, found all the details of my dream precisely verified in so far as the means of verification were in my hands. The original inscription on the votive cylinder read: "To the God Ninib, son of Bel, his lord, has Kurigalzu, pontifex of Bel, presented this."

Mrs. J. C. Hilprecht confirms the facts in this strange dream. There were some points, however, that were not cleared up until Prof. Hilprecht visited the Orient and was able to examine the engraved fragments, which completed the verification and proved that the communication which had come to him in the night-time was in every detail true and accurate.

CASE III. It will be remembered that the famous English statesman, Lord Brougham, used to relate an interesting incident which came as the sequel of a boyish compact between himself and a friend, signed in the blood of the agreeing parties, by which the one who should die first pledged himself to appear to the survivor, if such a thing were possible, and thus solve the doubts which both entertained of a life after death. Many years later, while Lord Brougham was taking a bath in Sweden, the vision of his friend, who was then in India, appeared vividly before him. Later he learned that his friend had died at about the time of or a little prior to the appearance of the apparition.

In Mr. Myers' volume are given several cases of this kind, one of the most interesting of which is related by Captain G. R. Russell Colt. Captain Colt had a very dear brother, Oliver, who was in the Crimea and who had written home in rather low spirits. In response Captain Colt wrote him a cheery letter, but told him that if anything should happen, he was to appear to him in their old room at Inveresk House, where they had passed so many happy hours in boyhood. This room was long

and narrow, with a window at one end and a door at the other. The bed stood on the right of the window, facing the door. One night Captain Colt awoke suddenly and beheld by his bedside, facing the window and surrounded by a phosphorescent haze, the kneeling figure of his brother Oliver. At first he thought it must be a trick of fancy or the moonlight playing on a towel; but on looking again he saw the figure still kneeling, while the rain beat heavily on the window. The Captain rose, shut his eyes, walked through the apparition and reached the door of the room. He then looked back. The vision turned its head and looked lovingly and longingly at him, and he saw on the right temple a bullet-hole with a red stream flowing from it. A fortnight later he received news that his brother had been shot and killed at the storming of the Redan, and officers who saw the body testified that the death-wound was exactly where he had seen it. The storming of the Redan began at noon on the eighth of September. The vision appeared to Captain Colt at a few minutes after two o'clock on the morning of the ninth.

CASE IV. In many respects this story is one of the most extraordinary to be found among the narrations of apparitions. The facts are given by the wife of an Englishman well known to some of the members of the Society for Psychical Research, but whose name for obvious reasons has been withheld from public print. The account of this lady's experience is given in great detail. Briefly it is as follows:

Mrs. P. was married in 1867 and lived happily for two years, when her husband became greatly depressed in spirits and his health began to fail. Something seemed to be preying upon his mind, but all inquiries failed to elicit more than the reply that there was "nothing the matter with him, and that his wife was 'too fanciful.'" Things continued in this way until Christmas, 1869. The husband and wife went upstairs to their chamber early, about nine-thirty, and the husband went immediately to bed. Their baby girl, however, usually awoke about this time and after drinking some warm milk would sleep for the rest of the night. As she was still sleeping Mrs. P. lay

down on the outside of the bed, wrapped in her dressing-gown, waiting for her to wake and thinking over the arrangements for the following day. The door was locked and the lamp was burning brightly on a chest of drawers at the opposite side of the room. Suddenly she saw standing at the foot of the bed, between her and the light, the figure of a man dressed in naval uniform and wearing a peaked cap pulled down over his eyes. As he was back to the light his face was in the shadow. She spoke to her husband, saying, "Willie, who is this?" Mr. P. turned and looked in astonishment at the strange visitor, crying out, "What on earth are you doing here, sir?" The apparition slowly drew itself erect and said in a commanding but very reproachful voice, "Willie! Willie!" The husband immediately sprang out of bed and moved toward the figure as if to attack it, when it moved quietly away in the opposite direction from the door and disappeared as it were into the wall. As it passed the lamp a deep shadow fell upon the room, as if a material person had intervened between the light and the spectators. Mr. P. instantly took the lamp and unlocking the door made a thorough search of the house. When he came back he informed his wife that the apparition was that of his father, who had been dead fourteen years. Early in life he had been in the navy, but his son had only once or twice seen him in his uniform. Mrs. P. had never seen her husband's father. Later Mr. P. became very ill and revealed the fact that he had been on the eve of acting upon the advice of evil associates, and had, indeed, already done some things which later brought sorrow to the family, when his father's warning voice had called him back from the brink of the precipice. Mr. P. confirms his wife's narrative in all particulars.

Some of the more materialistic members of the Society for Psychical Research long endeavored to explain the phenomena of apparitions as occurring prior to the death of the subject, or while dissolution was impending; but it will be observed that in Case I. the apparition appeared eight days after death, in Case IV. fourteen days after death; while in the case of Cap-

tain Colt the apparition presumably appeared to him some hours after the young officer was killed. These and numerous other cases negative the position of those who claim that apparitions can only appear before or at the crisis of death, and not after life has left the body.

AMY C. RICH.

*Boston, Mass.*

## TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

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### THE BATTLE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND REACTION IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

We are to-day in the midst of a world-wide struggle between the fundamental principles of democracy, or the ideals of the Revolution, and the reactionary principles of class rule, or the ideals that antedated the popular uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As is ever the case in a transition era marked by great political unrest, there is much confusion in the public mind, arising in part from failure to distinguish between the superficial aspects and the fundamental principles involved, and in part from the efforts of crafty apologists and defenders of reactionary and class interests to mislead the unthinking public by plausible pretenses, ingenious sophistry, and brazen-faced misrepresentations of the upholders of the cause of popular justice, who are by them made to appear as the enemies of the very democracy which they are striving to maintain in its essential purity.

It is, therefore, of paramount importance that all serious-minded persons who honestly desire the permanent ascendancy of republican government or the rule of all the people, shall clearly recognize the irreconcilable difference that marks the opposing forces throughout Christian civilization to-day; for the battle is the same in every great nation, whether it be in Germany or England, in the United States, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy or Australasia. In each instance two great ideals are engaged in a life and death struggle for supremacy. A reactionary past is grappling with the principles of the Revolution, and seeking to turn back the hands on the dial plate of progress. This being the case, the struggle as it is exhibited in each one of these quarters of the globe cannot fail to hold deep interest for all patriotic friends of democracy.

In Germany the conflict is just at the present time of peculiar interest, although at the time of this writing the outlook is not nearly so promising for the immediate future as in France. Several months ago the great German historian, Professor Mommsen, to whom the Noble prize for literature was recently accorded, electrified the friends of free government by a manifesto dealing with the future of Liberalism in Germany. The universal interest which this warning aroused among philosophical friends of democracy everywhere, though doubtless due in part to the fact that the author was one of the greatest if not the greatest living historian, and one of the deepest and most learned political thinkers of the age, was probably chiefly occasioned by the fact that the statements enunciated in reference to Germany were applicable in a general way to most of the leading nations that have long claimed to be liberal. Notably was this true of the conditions in Great Britain and the United States.

According to Professor Mommsen, Liberalism in Germany is in the gravest peril through the internal dissensions of the Liberal parties and the lack of powerful, far-seeing, constructive statesmanship within their ranks; while the throne and the old order clinging to the "divine right" dogma, together with the reactionary clericals of the Roman Church, have united and succeeded in drawing to their aid many nominal Liberals who are beholden to the capitalistic class and who are willing to throw away the result of the greatest victories of the Revolution rather than see laws enacted that may be prejudicial to the further exploitation of labor and the enrichment of those who through special privilege are already as powerful as the old-time aristocracy.

So dark, ominous, and fraught with deadly peril does the outlook appear to the great German historian that he expressed the gravest alarm lest the victories already won be speedily lost through an autocratic *coup d'état*. In this crisis Professor Mommsen appealed to the Liberals of Germany to form a working alliance with the Social Democrats of the realm in order to successfully meet the despotic and reactionary forces.

When we remember that since the accession of the present Kaiser more than six hundred editors and writers have been thrown into gloomy dungeons for *lèse majesté*, we can appreciate how dangerously reactionary is the spirit of the sovereign who claims to rule by divine right.

Unfortunately for the cause of free government the plutocratic influences that dominate the bourgeois elements were so

potent in the government of the Liberal party that not only was the great historian's advice ignored, but that body entered into a league with the German Conservatives and the Roman Church in order to crush the Social Democrats, under the terms of which all these parties were to center on one candidate in the various Socialistic strongholds, so that the united Royalist, Clerical, and bourgeois vote should be pitted against the Social Democrats and in this manner reduce their numbers in the Reichstag. By this action they have openly ranged themselves on the side of reaction and despotism, thereby not only abandoning the ark of the covenant of progress, but becoming camp-followers among the forces representing class rule and oppression.

Some superficial thinkers have criticized Professor Mommsen for urging the Liberals of Germany to work in harmony with the Social Democrats, after the manner of the Republicans of France, because of the difference in their political and economic theories. That this criticism is not well founded will be evident when we remember that the Socialists of Germany are first and foremost Democrats. Before all else they are advocates of the great fundamental principles of free government. They seek the triumph of their social theories only as other parties in a representative government win victories—by convincing the reason of the electorate and winning victories by the ballot box and through legal and legitimate channels. Furthermore, it should also be remembered that the ideal and aim of Socialism is merely an extension of the fundamental demands for justice for all, so that through economic as well as political freedom the ends of the revolution looking toward the establishment of a fraternal state will be achieved through purely democratic methods. The government they seek to establish would be more democratic than that of any leading nation, for it would be characterized by majority rule and safeguarded by every possible practical means to insure the government being the expression of the will of the majority of the electorate; while the reactionary parties, either openly or covertly, seek to further the interests of the classes and to thus defeat the basic principles of democracy.

Thus it is perfectly clear that Professor Mommsen's position was fundamentally sound when he sought to secure a working alliance between those of divergent theories who, nevertheless, are supposed to be one upon the vital principles underlying free government, in order to combat the allied parties of special privilege, class interest, and despotic reaction,

## BACK TO THE SOURCE OF FREE GOVERNMENT.

The Hon. Joseph W. Folk, whose inestimably valuable work in assailing the corrupt corporations and politicians of St. Louis has made him a figure of national importance, is reported as saying that, "The people are sound, but without leaders. Ninety-nine per cent. of the people are honest; only one per cent. is dishonest; but that one per cent. is perniciously active."

Evidences are not wanting which seem to substantiate this view; and yet, such is the power of corrupt corporations, leagued with the partisan boss, the one furnishing money, the other manipulating the party machine, that the one per cent. of corruptionists is becoming more and more absolute in political prestige and power with each recurring election.

"What is the hope for the cause of pure republicanism and economic justice," exclaimed a friend recently, "when the vastly rich corporations, the political bosses and the partisan machines of both the great political parties, and the daily press are working in unison for the success of the men who are satisfactory to the trusts and monopolies?"

My reply was that the hope of democracy lay in meeting the new reactionary and unrepublican conditions with measures that would insure the perpetuation and practical operation of the foundation principles underlying a truly republican government. In other words, we are to-day confronted by unrepublican elements and influences not formidable in the early days of the republic. Corporate wealth, largely dependent upon special privileges and seeking immunity from laws enacted to curb its aggressions against the people, and the autocratic political boss manipulating the partisan machine represent influences in political life that are diametrically opposed to the republican ideal and theory of government, and in practical operation are constantly thwarting the will of the people and betraying the interests of municipal, State, and national government while placing in positions of power the representatives of reactionary political ideals and the advocates of class interests.

If republican government is to be preserved and the ideals of democracy are to be maintained, it is clearly evident that measures must be adopted to meet the changed conditions—measures which in spirit conform to the old democratic ideals, as splendidly illustrated in the New England town-meeting, but which have been further developed and perfected by the

Swiss statesmen so that they are adapted to adequately meet present-day needs.

With majority rule or the initiative and referendum in active operation, political corruption and the plunder of municipal, State and national government by private corporations operating public utilities, and of the people by predatory bands enjoying monopolies, will be destroyed or reduced to a minimum.

To-day we find the people everywhere groaning under the oppression of the trusts and monopolies, and vainly pleading for substantial relief from the national government, the State legislatures, the departments of justice, and the executive branches of government. Their petitions are almost systematically ignored or denied because the political boss, the partisan machine, and the daily press are so largely controlled by corporate wealth. The ominous spectacle of a so-called republic being dominated by reactionary and class interests is only possible because the fundamental principles of democracy are being systematically ignored. The reactionary, undemocratic, and essentially autocratic influence in government is entirely dependent upon the power to prevent the operation of the fundamental demands of republican or democratic government. Whenever the people have the power to initiate and veto legislation, the influence of that trinity of darkness—the corporation, the party boss and the partisan machine—even though reinforced by the daily press, is powerless. Switzerland has thoroughly demonstrated this fact; but it is unnecessary to cross the Atlantic for proof. Recent cases in municipal politics strikingly illustrate the truth of our contention. The election of Mayor Jones, of Toledo, on the petition of voters by an overwhelming majority, with every daily paper in the city arraigned against him and the political machines of the different parties exerting all their power to defeat him, reinforced as was the mayor's opposition by liberal contributions from corporate wealth, is one of the most recent illustrations of a faithful public servant who, having antagonized the undemocratic and reactionary influences in politics, overcame combined opposition by an appeal directly to the electorate. The case to which I have so frequently referred in these pages, of the victory of the citizens of Boston over the street railway corporation when the latter had succeeded in winning the support of the political machines and all the daily papers of Boston, with the exception of one afternoon journal, is a typical illustration of the way in which the people will settle questions affecting the interest of

the community when they have the opportunity to vote directly on the issues involved.

The cry of true republicanism henceforth must be, "Back to the people!" The corrupt rule of the corporations and the despotism of the boss-controlled political machines must be overthrown if the republic is to exist in aught save name.

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### FRANCE AND THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Ten years ago Pope Leo XIII. warned the French Catholic religious orders not to be systematic enemies against the French Republic. Shrewd and far-seeing as were this remarkable Pope and his confidant and adviser, Cardinal Rampolla, they could not fail to understand the danger that lurked in the outspoken and aggressive warfare being relentlessly waged by the religious teaching and other Orders throughout France, against not only the communal or free schools, but also against the Republic itself.

The Orders, however, paid little or no heed to the oft-repeated warnings from the Vatican. They were unitedly aiding and furthering the reactionary elements, and through their influence the army was becoming largely officered by men antagonistic to the fundamental principles of the republic. This was to a large extent also true of the judiciary, while the monarchal party, receiving such powerful aid from these teaching Orders throughout the Republic, was also growing into a formidable menace.

The more timid and reactionary the Republic became the more aggressive and outspoken grew the opposition. The Brothers' Schools throughout the length and breadth of the country were busily disseminating reactionary teachings. The public school system was of course the black beast of the religious Orders, but the baleful influence of reaction was felt in every direction. Socialists were savagely and indiscriminately denounced, and the religious prejudices against the Hebrews were sedulously fomented.

At this juncture the Dreyfus agitation occurred. Instantly the most amazing opposition broke forth on every side. The reactionary leaders in the army, the Catholic press, the religious orders, and the Monarchists united in lashing public opinion into one of those strange paroxysms of emotional insanity which at times overtake nations, blinding them for the moment to all

considerations of reason and justice. The simple proposition that the condemned man be granted a new trial, after the Court of Cassation had decided that he had been illegally convicted, was denounced as a crime. The government, always timid in the presence of the reactionary opposition, now became almost panic-stricken, and for a time it seemed as if the reactionaries would win a substantial victory.

At that moment, however, Emile Zola launched his thunderbolt, arraigning the nation before the conscience of civilization and demanding justice in the name of human progress. The effect of M. Zola's accusation was astonishing. It seemed to steady the judgment of the government and call back the nation to a condition of measurable sanity. A liberal reaction ensued. One of the few really great statesmen of the time was called to the helm of the Republic. He instantly made a working alliance with the idealistic Socialistic element in Parliament by which he was enabled to meet the combined reactionary influences, rescue the public school system, and set the face of France again toward freedom.

The reactionary influence of the Orders had failed at the last moment, but how thoroughly the Church was reactionary at this time has been pointed out by Mr. E. A. Vizetelly when he observes that but one priest in all France raised his voice in favor of justice for Dreyfus.

The friends of democracy and of the fundamental principles of free government throughout France were alive to the lesson taught them by the experience of the past thirty years. So long as France cherished and protected the Brothers's Schools and the religious orders while they waged a relentless warfare against the free school system of the Republic, the nation would be in constant danger. Those who are inclined to criticize the sweeping measures recently enacted by the French government should remember that the action was only brought about after the Republic had been placed in deadly peril through its implacable enemies. Had the warning of the Pope been heeded, the Orders would have been left unmolested.

Mr. J. Cornely, the well-known Paris correspondent of the New York *Herald*, in a letter to his journal showing strong sympathy with the religious Orders, was nevertheless constrained to say: "It is just to point out that if the Republic decides to suppress the religious Orders, it is because the religious Orders for thirty years past have waged a pitiless war on the Republic." In referring to the failure to heed the Papal

warning this correspondent pertinently adds: "Really, it is not worth while to have an infallible head if his words are not to receive more attention."

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### THE BOSTON WOMAN'S SOCIALIST CLUB.

The aggressive propaganda of the so-called "National Economic League," whose ostensible purpose is to combat Socialism, is being answered by the organization of Socialist clubs all over the republic. The recent formation of the Woman's Socialist Club of Boston is symptomatic of a nationwide educational movement now being started. This organization has a definite and well-considered programme which is being carried forward. Its members come together regularly on the first and third Friday evenings of each month, when the subject of Socialism is studied. Frequently a chapter from some leading Socialist work is read, or some special phase of the movement proper is presented, after which a general discussion ensues. Once a month a public meeting is held in Paine Memorial Hall, at which leading Socialist thinkers address the people.

Plans have been perfected for opening a Saturday school for the teaching of Socialism to boys and girls, beginning next autumn, when the fundamental principles of social democracy will be presented in a popular and attractive manner adapted to the young mind. Special attention will be given to important passages of history, discussed from the view-point of the people instead of from that of kings and classes. Biographies of leading social reformers will also be studied. Parliamentary law and rules of procedure will receive attention, as well as public debating and oratory. There will also be a Socialist Glee Club formed from the scholars of the school.

Two other woman's Socialist clubs are to be shortly formed in other parts of Boston, and it is expected that this movement will be carried forward throughout the entire State.

It is often claimed by the ignorant that most of the Socialist women are foreign born. As a matter of fact the reverse is the case. Foreign women are far more conservative than the American women. In the Boston Woman's Socialist Club fully two-thirds of the members are American born. The Secretary, Miss Bertha Howells, is a graduate of Cornell University.

The educational value of such an organization as the above is inestimable at a time like the present, when an arrogant commercial feudalism is combatting the enlightened principles of democracy. We incline to believe, however, that clubs composed of men and women are in most instances more effective than those made up entirely of members of one sex. In each instance, however, they become centers of intellectual and moral activity—a real power that is much needed throughout this republic. Let progressive and Socialistic clubs be multiplied with all possible rapidity.

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### AERIAL NAVIGATION.

We think it is safe to say that in no field of inventive activity has progress been slower or less satisfactory than in the effort of man to utilize the air as a highway for travel and commerce. And yet during the past score of years many problems have been successfully met that have materially brightened the prospect for final victory. This is especially true of the advance of the last few years. The large prizes offered for the most successful flying machines by the management of the St. Louis Exposition have greatly stimulated European and American inventors, and from the recent satisfactory experiments in France it seems reasonable to expect that the day is at hand when the feasibility of utilizing the air in a practical way as a highway for travel will be demonstrated.

Probably the most successful experiment with a flying machine was made at Paris on May 8, when the new dirigible air ship, owned by the Lebaudy brothers, covered a distance of twenty-three miles in one hour and thirty-six minutes, under circumstances which seemed to demonstrate great possibilities for the new machine. The air ship made its ascent from St. Martin during a light rain and while a strong wind was blowing. The vessel obeyed her helm in such a way as to surprise and delight all spectators. After passing over several suburban towns, Mantes was reached, where the boat circled the cathedral tower and left the town, going diagonally against the wind. Over many towns the ship was put through a series of interesting manœuvres which demonstrated greater mastery of the elements than has hitherto been exhibited by a flying machine. On her return to the point of departure the air ship descended with ease.

The Paris *Temps*, usually very conservative in its predictions, in commenting on the results obtained in the face of rain and strong wind, expresses the belief that at last aerial navigation has entered the domain of practical reality.

On the same day Santos-Dumont made some highly satisfactory experiments with one of his three new air ships.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.\*

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THE LIFE AND LABORS OF ISAAC PITMAN AS TOLD BY  
HIS BROTHER BENN PITMAN. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp.  
202. Price \$2.00. Published by the author at Cincinnati, Ohio.

This is a most artistic volume and a fascinating, instructive, and inspiring biography, written with the loving, sympathetic touch of a brother and the discrimination of a broad-minded thinker who is able to recognize the limitations as well as the excellencies of one of his own family. The work, merely considered as a beautifully written life story, is of sufficient interest to hold and charm the general reader; but its excellencies are far more than those of an ordinary biography, as it contains the authoritative story of the invention and practical utilization of stenography—something that has become a world-wide blessing to civilization, one of the great handmaids of modern intellectual progress.

In the discovery and invention of stenography and the pioneer stages of perfecting the system, both brothers played an important part. Mr. Benn Pitman, who has long been a resident of Cincinnati, is in our judgment as much entitled to the love, gratitude, and honor of the world as the late Sir Isaac; and this is saying very much, as the eminent Englishman who received his title for the great service rendered civilization was in many respects a most remarkable man. His life also carries important lessons and is calculated to inspire and prove helpful to ambitious youths. In the introductory word, the author says:

Isaac Pitman's main characteristic was his persevering, unswerving, methodical industry. Such was his concentration of thought and energy for his special mission and its incidental labors, that everything else in life was willingly sacrificed; he thus accomplished in his life's span more literary work than any other man I know of. Jules Verne, it is said, boasts having written as many books as he had lived years—more than seventy. Isaac Pitman wrote, compiled, or made more than two hundred and fifty books and booklets, ranging all the way from Bibles, Dictionaries, and yearly volumes of Phonographic and Phonetic Journals, to Manuals, Readers, and Primers. My brother made many of his books after the fashion of the work of the old monastic scribes, before the invention of printing, in that he wrote—that is, lithographed

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\*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

—the page which was to meet the reader's eye. In all this work there was never a thought of personal merit, possible honor, or pecuniary gain. As he was his own publisher, so was he his own proof-reader, and authors who see only "revised" proofs of their writing and in customary characters, know little of the perplexities of the average "first proofs" of a new style, and would, as a rule, be quite unequal to the task of righting their varied typic wrongs. My brother's correspondence was immense: the discussion of theoretical points, phonographic and phonetic experiments, letters of encouragement to phonographers, and letters accompanying parcels of books, tracts, and documents, occupied, it is safe to say, nearly one-half of his customary sixteen hours of daily duty.

The volume is beautifully printed and embellished with several pages of hand drawings that will delight those interested in artistic pages.

THE FILIGREE BALL. By Anna Katherine Green. Cloth. Pp. 418. Price \$1.50. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Since the publication of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's remarkable story, "The Hound of the Baskervilles," there have appeared a large number of detective stories, most of them mediocre in character, a few of them excellent, but none approaching the work of the famous creator of Sherlock Holmes.

One of the very best of these recent detective stories is Anna Katherine Green's new book, "The Filigree Ball." It is well written and the plot is very ingenious, but like most detective stories it contains some extremely improbable situations. Those who enjoy tales of this kind will be delighted with "The Filigree Ball," although it hardly equals the author's first great success, "The Leavenworth Case."

THE MELODY OF LIFE. By Susie C. Clark. Cloth. Pp. 139. New York, The Alliance Pub. Co.

The world has often been enriched by noble teachings emanating from men and women who, like the philosopher Seneca, too frequently failed to live up to the light that came to them. In the eternal conflict between the spirit and the flesh—the ideal and the promptings of the material nature—the lower proves stronger than the higher. They have been as sign boards that but point the way to the green fields, and the power and inspiration of life's example failed to give emphasis and force to their teachings. Not so with the teacher who is a consistent example of the truth that has been the pillar of cloud and fire guiding life's faltering steps. Here often the influence of example is greater than that of the uttered word, though one complements the other in such a way as to make the example and teachings a light to the pathway.

We have known the author of this beautiful little work for many years, and have known her to be a fine, true, and consistent example of the noble philosophy of life which she ever strives to teach. This last book is in our judgment by far the best work which Miss Clark

has written. It is well considered and expressed in a simple, earnest, and sincere manner calculated to arouse the attention and make a lasting impression on the minds of those who in the midst of warring creeds and a death-dealing "churchanity" that is far more concerned with the letter than with the spirit on the one hand and with the shallow, materialistic life on the other, are reaching out for something that shall satisfy the cravings of the soul.

"The Melody of Life" is arranged in five chapters, in which "Spirit," "Love," "Life," "Action," and "Progression" are the themes discussed, the whole forming an important contribution to the helpful, sane, and healthful spiritual literature of our time. To those interested in the advanced ethical and religious philosophy of the New Thought, which is exerting something of the revivifying influence on the minds of millions of our people that was exerted by the Bible in the early days of the great Protestant Reformation, this book will prove a source of pleasure and inspiration. It is a good work, well calculated to carry a sense of serenity to the troubled and perplexed mind, and to contribute materially to the health of body and growth of spirit of those who have wearied of the dry husks of the formal and perfunctory conventional religion of our day.



#### BRIEF BOOK NOTICES.

"LOYAL TRAITORS: A Story of Friendship for the Filipinos," is the title of a new novel by the well-known newspaper correspondent, Raymond L. Bridgman. (Cloth, \$1 net. Boston: Jas. H. West Co.) This volume, which is the work of an earnest, high-minded patriot—a believer in the old ideals of the republic—a champion of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, merits the serious attention of thoughtful readers because of the able manner in which the cause of justice and human rights is presented. The author's forte can hardly be said to be found in fiction. His characters seem to us to lack life and that convincing realism that compels the interested attention of the reader—something very essential in didactic novels. The thought, however, is noble and in every way worthy of a high-minded American patriot. It presents in a bold and striking way the principles of free government as opposed to the present systematic attempt of a subsidized press, under the domination of a powerful plutocracy, to in effect Russianize the great republic and debauch our political ideals.



"HOW BALDY WON THE COUNTY SEAT," by Charles Josiah Adams (cloth, 383 pp. New York: F. Tennyson Neely), is a rather long novel dealing primarily with the exploits of an unconventional and essentially manly, not to say strenuous, clergyman. It is a clean, wholesome volume, mildly interesting, though too long drawn out. If condensed into one-third its present compass it would be a pleasing and thoroughly readable work.

"THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA," by Abbie Daniels Mason (cloth, price 75 cents net. Boston: Jas. H. West Co.), is a simple story of the struggles of a youth whose spirit had been touched by the unrest and larger spiritual aspirations of our time, but whose life was so environed as to make the realization of his dream extremely difficult. The volume is quiet in tone, but is pure, wholesome, and morally invigorating. It is an excellent work for young people, especially for those who cherish ideals and desire to be happy through achieving that which is noble and worthy.

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"HENRY ASHTON," a social romance by R. A. Dague (cloth. Published by author at Alameda, Cal.), belongs to the economic propaganda literature of the present. The author is an able and progressive social reformer and more of an authority in progressive political economy than he is a master in fiction; for, though the tale is full of action, much of it of the melodramatic type, the telling lacks the style, power, and skill that should be possessed by those who essay romance. The part, however, which is devoted to the unfolding of an ideal social commonwealth in which a government similar to our own was step by step transformed through peaceable methods, beginning with the introduction of majority rule and ending with the establishment of a coöperative commonwealth based on justice and equity, is well-considered and calculated to appeal to the reason and conscience of men and women of conviction. The author is a clear reasoner, and a sincere and intelligent progressive social democrat.

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"THAT PRINTER OF UDELL'S," a book which on account of the practical Christianity embodied in its pages is attracting considerable attention in many quarters, was written by Rev. Harold Bell Wright, a young clergyman whose career is rather remarkable, and it is safe to say could occur in no country but the United States. Mr. Wright is but thirty years of age and at present resides in Pittsburg, Kansas, where he is pastor of the largest church in the place. When quite young his mother died, leaving him without proper influences, and he drifted from bad to worse till something seemed to touch his better nature. He then worked his way through Hiram College. From there he went to the Ozark regions of Arkansas to paint pictures, being an artist of more than ordinary ability. While residing among the mountaineers he attended religious services held occasionally in a log house. One Sunday the preacher failed to appear. A seven-foot mountaineer approached Mr. Wright and said: "Young feller, you'ns seems to have some eddecashun; cant you'ns talk to us?" This was Mr. Wright's first sermon, and he has preached regularly since that time. He accepted his present pastorate six years ago when the church was small. To-day he has a large and influential institutional church of nearly eight hundred members. His church is open continually and flies the stars and stripes.

Mr. Wright's greatest study for ten years has been men and conditions. His familiarity with the different phases of life has been drawn upon in this story of practical Christianity. He was two years writing this story, but delivered from two to a dozen addresses each week, doing his literary work late in the night.

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*BOOKS RECEIVED.*

"Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death." By F. W. H. Myers. 2 vols., cloth. Price, \$12 net. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co.

"Greek and Roman Stoicism and Some of Its Disciples." By Chas. H. Stanley Davis, M.D., Ph.D. Cloth, 269 pp. Price, \$1.40 net. Boston: Herbert D. Turner & Co.

"Millionaire Households." By Mary E. Carter. Cloth, 303 pp. Price, \$1.60 net. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

"What Manner of Man." By Edna Kenton. Cloth, 292 pp. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company.

"The Socialist and the Prince." By Mrs. Fremont Older. Cloth, 309 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

"Spiritual Evolution or Regeneration." By R. C. Douglas. Cloth, 350 pp. Price, \$1.30 net. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

"Some Ethical Phases of the Labor Question." By Carroll D. Wright. Cloth, 207 pp. Price, \$1 net. Boston: American Unitarian Association.

"The Social Revolution." By Karl Kautsky. Cloth, 189 pp. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr.

"Henry Ashton." By R. A. Dague. Cloth, 235 pp. Alameda, Calif.: Published by the author.

"The Origin of the Family." By Frederick Engels. Cloth, 218 pp. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr.

"Twenty-five Minutes with Palmistry." By Julian Greer. Cloth, 41 pp. Price, 25 cents. New York: The Abbey Press.

"Linked Lives." By Isabella Ingalese. Cloth, 232 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Occult Book Concern.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

**DELAY OF JUNE ARENA ON ACCOUNT OF FIRE:—**The June ARENA was printed and ready to go forward on our regular day of publication, when a fire occurred in the building occupied by our printers, and the edition was ruined by water. The plates, however, were not injured, and a new edition was promptly struck off. The unfortunate accident, however, occasioned a delay of about a week in the issuance of our magazine.

**VOLUME XXX. OF THE ARENA:—**We take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the contents of this, the opening issue of Volume XXX. of our review, believing that it will compare most favorably with the best issues of the ARENA since its inception. Especially we would note the timeliness of the discussions, the authoritative character of the contributors, the vital manner of treatment, and the variety of subject-matter, embracing as it does papers on municipal, economic, political, literary, historical, ethical and psychical subjects. This issue is an earnest of what we propose to make Volume XXX., and it is carrying forward our resolution to make the ARENA in the future more attractive, virile, and indispensable to broad-minded and progressive men and women of conscience than ever before.

**MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION AND MACHINE RULE IN PENNSYLVANIA:—**In the extremely able paper on Philadelphia the ARENA this month gives the American people one of the most important contributions to the burning question of municipal corruption that has yet appeared. The author is a well-known professional gentleman whose residence in Philadelphia and close personal observation of passing events have enabled him to discuss the subject in a far more satisfactory and authoritative manner than would be possible were he an outsider, compelled to rely wholly upon the testimony of others. This paper is peculiarly timely, as Pennsylvania, and especially Philadelphia, is at the present time the storm center of one of the most momentous battles between the forces of free government and those seeking to Russianize our republic that has been fought since the foundation of the United States. The corrupt Quay machine, having

found a pliant tool in the governor, who is a relative of Boss Quay, has passed a bill which, while favored by all those who are responsible for the wholesale corruption that has given such bad preëminence to Pennsylvania, and especially to Philadelphia, is vigorously opposed by almost every newspaper as well as by the vast majority of the better element throughout the state. The brave stand taken by the *Philadelphia North American* and other great dailies in defying this shameful creation of the most corrupt political machine in America reminds us that the spirit of Eliot and Hampden, of Jefferson, Hancock and Adams, and of Garrison, Phillips and Whittier, is still alive in the English-speaking world. In fact, the resolute opposition to this infamous bill is one of the most hopeful signs of the hour. Mr. Baker's magnificent study of the degradation of Philadelphia at the hands of the all-powerful and thoroughly corrupt machine will help our readers to understand how it was possible to pass the shameful press-censorship bill.

PROFESSOR STIMSON'S NOTEWORTHY TRIBUTE TO AN AMERICAN GENIUS:—In his luminous and deeply sympathetic study of the life and poetry of Richard Realf, the "overlooked American Shelley," Professor John Ward Stimson has given the reading public one of the best literary studies of Realf that has yet appeared. Realf's life was stormy and troubled. He was a gifted son of genius who belonged to that family of unfortunates of which Poe, Shelley, Byron, and Keats were members.

HISTORY OF CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE:—The keynote of the twentieth century is found in the great word, "coöperation." The age of steel, steam, and electricity, of scientific discovery and inventive genius, no less than the sweep of civilization and the temper of the time, has made coöperation inevitable. But the difference between feudalism and fraternalism is found in the manner in which the coöperation is to take permanent form. If it is to be the combination and coöperation of the few for the exploitation of the toilers and the oppression of the masses, after the manner of the present government-fostered trusts, the new order will mean an intolerable despotism more hopeless, because more subtle and powerful, than the feudalism of the Middle Ages. But if it manifests itself in the form of coöperation of all for the mutual benefit of all—a coöperation in which each unit receives equitable and just returns for services rendered, a democracy based on liberty—justice and brotherhood will blossom in

the splendor of maturity, and enduring progress will glorify the brow of civilization. For this reason the history of the rise and onward march of equitable coöperation in Europe becomes a question of major importance to thoughtful Americans. In Professor Parsons' masterly paper we have the clearest brief historical sketch that has yet been prepared. Professor Parsons spent many months in Europe making a careful and exhaustive study of the subject. He is probably better fitted to write upon this theme than any other American unless it is Mr. Henry Demarest Lloyd. Next month we hope to present a companion paper by Professor Parsons.

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN FINLAND:—In Mr. Jackol's notable contribution we have a paper compact and rich in historical facts, but presented in a manner so fascinating as to rival fiction in its charm. The author is the Chicago representative of the Finnish Central Relief Committee of America, and he is a thorough master of his subject. At the present moment the eyes of the whole civilized world are centered upon Russia. The nation whose perfidy has recently been typically illustrated in regard to Manchuria, and whose ferocity found a striking example in the indescribably atrocious massacre at Kishineff, is now engaged in Finland in reenacting the tragedy which she played last century with Poland as the stage. In all the world to-day Russia is the most frightful incarnation of despotism to be found. Her words are honeyed as were those of the assassins of Cæsar, and her deeds are no less brutal or bloody than theirs.

EDWIN MARKHAM'S ETHICAL APPEAL:—Without the moral verities as the supreme guiding influence, man's life must end in failure, and that of a nation or a civilization will be, relatively speaking, ephemeral, with no possibility of a glorious to-morrow. Brain culture is beneficent and inspiring only when it has behind it that moral rectitude that places justice and right above all thought of self or motives of expediency. Nothing to-day is more urgently demanded than the recognition of this solemn fact, which was the pillar of fire that guided the founders of our republic and gave vitality to the Revolution. In "The North Star of Conduct" Edwin Markham, our great laureate of progress, emphasizes this thought in the noble and simple manner which characterizes his writings. Mr. Markham is one of the few present-day poets who have been completely overmastered by the lofty spiritual ideals that are the true inspiration of civilization.

**THE ABUSE OF INJUNCTIONS:**—Last month Judge Samuel Seabury opened our series of brief papers on "The Abuse of Injunctions." This month Mr. Ernest Crosby presents a clear and convincing argument against this insidious attempt, inspired by corporate wealth, to further Russianize our republic.

**THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC LEAGUE:**—The Rev. R. E. Bisbee needs no introduction to the readers of the *ARENA*. For years he has been a valued contributor, while his work as one of the most progressive and thoughtful ministers in the Methodist church in New England, and also as a lecturer and an essayist, has done much toward correcting the reactionary tendencies prevailing in New England and to awaken anew that passion for truth, justice, and brotherhood that marked Massachusetts when Garrison, Whittier, Phillips, and Sumner were her strength and glory.

**THE CORRUPTION OF GOVERNMENT BY THE CORPORATIONS:**—In our discussion of "The Case Against the Trusts" we this month notice the second item in the indictment—the corrupting power of the corporations. To properly deal with this subject would require a volume. Hence, only some typical cases dealing with the influence of the railways have been cited. In the recent exposé of the corruption in the Missouri legislature it was shown that the debauchery of the people's representatives was chiefly due directly to the corporations, principal among which, according to the testimony and confessions of the senators who had bartered their votes, were the steam and street railway companies. The American people have slept overlong. The great natural monopolies of public utilities must be operated by the whole people for the benefit of the people, or the corruption will grow apace; while the interests of democracy must be further safeguarded by direct legislation that will render it impossible for the corrupt machines or venal legislators to betray the commonwealth.

**SOME AUTHENTICATED GHOST STORIES:**—Amy C. Rich has presented in an admirable manner several remarkable psychical phenomena as originally investigated by the English Society for Psychical Research and later given in great detail by Professor F. W. H. Myers in his monumental work. These phenomena, if republished as they appear in "Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death," would occupy scores of pages in the *ARENA*, but as given by Miss Rich

all the salient facts in which the general reader is interested are preserved and presented in a clear and highly entertaining manner.

SOME STRONG FEATURES FOR EARLY ISSUES:—We have several very attractive and important contributions that are awaiting publication and will appear in early issues of the ARENA, among which we would mention: "The Evolution of the Constitution," by John Brooks Leavitt, LL.D.; "The Aftermath of the Spanish and Philippine War," by Judge Samuel C. Parks; "The Dignity of Labor and Its Relation to Art," by F. Edwin Elwell, curator of the Department of Ancient and Modern Statuary in New York Metropolitan Museum of Art; "President Roosevelt and Mayor Johnson as Typical Representatives of Opposing Ideals," by Joseph Dana Miller; "Islam and Democracy," by Muhammad Barakatullah; "Studies in Coöperation," by Professor Frank Parsons; "Modern Parables and Fables," by Franklin H. Wentworth and Bolton Hall; "The Bible versus Plutocracy," by President George McA. Miller; "A Remedy for Bribery," by Governor L. C. F. Garvin, of Rhode Island.

THE DEBATE ON THE INITIATIVE:—To our great regret we find it impossible to present the discussion of the initiative, by President Eltwed Pomeroy of the National Direct Legislation League and Hon. William F. Dana of the Massachusetts legislature, on account of the extreme length of the contributions. The maximum limit given the disputants in reducing their arguments to writing was 2,500 words each. The two papers as furnished, however, are more than double the prescribed length and in their present form would of course render it impossible to publish them and yet give our readers the general variety and proper balance of subject matter. We hope the authors will be able to reduce their papers to the required limit, as the subject is one of prime importance and the discussions are able presentations of each side of the question.

B. O. F.